GREEK AND ROMAN SCULPTURE IN AMERICAN COLLECTIONS

GEORGE H. CHASE

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GREEK AND ROMAN SCULPTURE

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GREEK AND ROMAN SCULPTURE

IN AMERICAN COLLECTIONS

BY

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PREFACE

THE eight lectures which make up this book were delivered in the spring of 1919 as one of the courses offered by the Lowell Institute in Boston. In revising them for publication I have made some slight changes and have included a few monuments that have come to my attention during the intervening years. But with these exceptions I have left them as they were first written.

The plan for the lectures was suggested by Professor Kekulé von Stradonitz's *Die Griechische Skulptur*, in which the history of Greek sculpture is traced with special reference to the collection in the Berlin Museum. It seemed to me that a similar discussion of works of ancient sculpture in America might serve not only to call attention to the increasing wealth and importance of our collections in this field but also to provide a convenient brief history of the subject. If the book in any way fulfills these purposes, I shall be content.

In the selection of monuments to be considered, I have drawn for the most part on public, rather than on private, collections, partly because public galleries are always accessible for study and partly because of my ignorance of many works in private possession. My purpose was not to attempt to include all works of Greek and Roman sculpture in America, but rather to show that American collections already contain very satisfactory material for the study of the development of sculpture during the period of classical antiquity.

To the many Directors and Curators of museums who have generously responded to my requests for photographs of the

treasures in their collections, I wish to offer my sincere thanks. I am especially indebted to Dr. Lacey D. Caskey, of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, for many helpful suggestions and for permission to consult the manuscript of his catalogue of sculpture, now in process of publication. To the Syndics of the Harvard University Press for their acceptance of the book, and to the staff of the Press for their unfailing courtesy and generous coöperation, I am also deeply grateful.

GEORGE H. CHASE

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GREEK AND ROMAN SCULPTURE

GREEK AND ROMAN SCULPTURE IN AMERICAN COLLECTIONS

LECTURE I

THE ARCHAIC PERIOD

The subject of these lectures, "Greek and Roman Sculpture in American Collections," may seem, at first sight, to invite comparison with the familiar topic of "Snakes in Ireland," or to suggest the theme once proposed in jest for an address at the American School at Athens, "The Influence of the Discovery of America on the Development of Greek Art"; and I must confess that after I proposed it, I had moments of wondering whether I had not been rash. But I had been impressed for a long time by the rapid growth of museums in this country, and it seemed to me that the work of the sculptors of Greek and Roman times is now sufficiently represented in American collections to furnish material for a brief survey of this branch of ancient art. I was not, however, quite prepared for what I actually found when I began a more careful study of the matter, namely, that there is so much material available that I shall be obliged to omit some less important examples if I am to treat the more important monuments with any fullness. But this fact only emphasizes the point which I hope to make clear — that we have now in America original works in sufficient numbers to show the development of Greek and Roman sculpture as a whole, and to illustrate the most important features of the products of different ages.

As the titles of the separate lectures show, I have grouped the monuments chronologically, according to the periods commonly

distinguished by historians of ancient art. My plan for each of the earlier lectures is to consider first the progress of the sculptors during the period under discussion, using well-known monuments for illustration, and then to take up works in America which show similar qualities. In the last lecture, I shall try to

FIG. 1. ACROBAT
Museum, Candia. (*Annual of the British School in Athens*, VIII, pl. 2)

point out the essential qualities of Greek and Roman sculpture, and to show why it has been, and is, so much admired.

The beginnings of Greek sculpture, if we interpret the phrase in its broadest possible sense, lie many centuries before the beginnings of recorded Greek history. The remarkable products of the men of the bronze age, which have been brought to light in the course of the last fifty years, though there are among them few monuments of larger sculpture, include many works on a

small scale which reveal notable power of observation and skill of hand among the craftsmen of the second millenium before Christ. The ivory figure of an acrobat from Knossos in Crete (Fig. 1), in spite of its mutilation, is a wonderfully lifelike rendering of the human figure in motion. The gold and ivory Snake

FIG. 2. SNAKE GODDESS
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

FIG. 3. STATUE DEDICATED BY NICANDRA
National Museum, Athens

Goddess in the Boston Museum (Fig. 2) is remarkable not only for its skilful suggestion of dignity and pride and the individual character expressed in the face, but also as an anticipation, in the sixteenth century B.C., of a technical process which the great sculptors of a later day employed with conspicuous success. Whenever, in the great days of Greece, a state wished to honor its protecting divinity with the finest possible image, gold and ivory were the materials employed, and it is interesting to find

them in use for a similar purpose, though on a much smaller scale, in the age of bronze.

These memorials of the prehistoric inhabitants of Greece, however, long antedate the Greek civilization of historic times; their makers were probably of different race from the Greeks; and the knowledge that they had gained was almost, if not entirely, lost in the dark ages which followed the incoming of the

FIG. 4. ARCHAIC ROOM
National Museum, Athens. (Photograph by Alinari)

iron-using Dorians, about 1100 B.C. The earliest preserved works of sculpture that can surely be called Greek, such as the female figure dedicated by the Naxian Nicandra at a sanctuary of Artemis on the island of Delos (Fig. 3), are not earlier than the last years of the seventh century, and reveal an art which gives only the faintest suggestion of any previous development.

The archaic period is usually said to begin in the last years of the seventh century and to extend to the Persian invasion of

Greece in 480 B.C. During this time, the Greeks attacked both sculpture in the round and sculpture in relief, and what impresses one most, perhaps, is the rapidity of the progress which they made. Two types especially interested them, the nude male figure and the draped female, and of both of these, thanks to the explorations of the last one hundred years, we now have numerous examples. The archaic room in the National Museum at Athens (Fig. 4) contains a number of such works, which illustrate many phases of the early development. Both male and female types, at first, exhibit very great stiffness and conventionality. They are always strictly "frontal" in pose, bending neither to the right nor to the left, with both feet firmly planted on the ground. The male figures, commonly called "Apollos," — a traditional name which is retained because it is convenient, — show little real knowledge of anatomy, though some parts, like the hands and the feet, are worked out with considerable exactness from the first. Eyes are little, if any, sunk beneath the brows, ears are badly modelled and set too high, the hair is carved as a mass falling to the shoulders, subdivided into squares or other geometric forms by grooved lines, and treated over the forehead in all sorts of pattern-like arrangements, especially in rows of flat spirals. The mouth is sometimes a simple straight line, but usually it is curved up at the corners into the meaningless "archaic smile," which seems to be an attempt on the sculptor's part to give some sort of expression to the heavy face.

In female figures, of which the Hera from Samos, now in the Louvre, may serve as an example (Fig. 5), much attention was devoted to the folds of the drapery. These the artist commonly attempted to render by careful arrangements of parallel grooves, differentiating heavy and light texture by wider or narrower spacing; and in the heads of such figures, even more than in the

male heads, the marble was tortured to suggest elaborately waved hair above the forehead, and separate locks falling over the shoulders in front. The Victory of Delos, now in the Athens Museum (Fig. 6), illustrates this point, and is interesting too as the earliest attempt that has come down to us to represent a flying victory. With the help of somewhat later bronze figures its original appearance, with feet off the ground and large re-

FIG. 5. HERA OF SAMOS
The Louvre
(Photograph by Giraudon)

FIG. 6. VICTORY OF DELOS
National Museum, Athens
(Photograph by Alinari)

curving wings attached to shoulders and ankles, can be determined with reasonable certainty. An inscription which very surely belongs with the statue mentions two sculptors of Chios, Mikkiades and Archermus, who are known from literary accounts, and dates the figure shortly before the middle of the sixth century. Perhaps the most curious feature of the work lies in the attempt to combine two contradictory points of view.

The upper part of the figure is seen from the front, the lower part is strictly in profile, so that there is a twist of ninety degrees at the waist.

Similar inaccuracies and makeshifts are to be seen in the earliest relief work. The well-known metope from an early temple at Selinus in Sicily, in which Perseus is represented as he cuts off the head of Medusa in the presence of his patron god-

FIG. 7. PERSEUS AND MEDUSA
Museum, Palermo. (Photograph by Alinari)

dess Athena (Fig. 7), shows all three figures with heads in front view, legs in profile, and torsos carved in an awkward sort of three-quarters. The many distortions show only too clearly the early sculptors' difficulties in expressing their ideas. Even in rendering the strict profile position, which these sculptors usually preferred for reliefs, we find many inaccuracies. The eye is regularly represented in front view in the profile head,

and hair and drapery are carved in the same formal ways as in figures in the round. An interesting example is the lower part of a sculptured column from the early temple of Artemis at Ephesus (Fig. 8), which still has carved upon it six letters of the inscription "King Croesus dedicated," and so is surely

FIG. 8. SCULPTURED COLUMN FROM EPHESUS
British Museum. (Photograph by Mansell)

FIG. 9. DRAPED FEMALE FIGURE
Acropolis Museum, Athens. (Schrader, *Archaische Marmorskulpturen*, pl. 4)

datable before the year 546, when that famous king of Lydia was overthrown by the Persians.

Such are the qualities of Greek sculpture of the early archaic time, that is, up to the middle of the sixth century B.C. The years from 550 to 480, which are often called the later archaic period or period of advanced archaism, were marked by a rapid advance in all directions. Most of the works of this time are

characterized by an extreme elaboration of detail. This is especially true of female figures, in which the lines of the drapery and the arrangement of the hair offered opportunities for an almost infinite variety. The long series of such figures from the Athenian Acropolis, which were found in the so-called Persian *débris* and undoubtedly are the relics of statues thrown down and broken by the Persians in 479 B.C. (Fig. 9), show well the patient care of the makers, who delighted in the decorative effect of zigzag folds and spiral curls, and in the diadems and earrings and bracelets with which they adorned their products. The dress of Athenian women at this time was evidently most elaborate, consisting of a long chiton or undergarment and a heavier outer robe or himation, draped in broad pleats in front and back, in a manner that appealed strongly to the sculptor. The embroidered or woven patterns of these garments were represented in color, much of which is preserved on many of these Athenian statues. Most of the figures had one hand extended, and when this is preserved, it commonly contains an offering of some sort, so that they are generally believed to represent Athenian girls, set up on the Acropolis by dedicators who wished to make, so to speak, a perpetual offering to the great goddess of Athens. In general, it was the sculptors of the eastern, or Ionic, section of the Greek world who carried furthest the tendency to extreme elaboration of detail; and the prevalence of this tendency in Athenian works of the later archaic time is no doubt due to a strong Ionic influence in Athens during the tyranny of Pisistratus and his sons.

Meanwhile, among the Dorian sculptors of the Peloponnesus, quite other ideals prevailed. The Dorian schools of the later archaic period are sometimes called the schools of athletic art, and the phrase is true in a double sense, for their attention was devoted largely to the rendering of statues of victorious athletes,

and their figures of gods and heroes, so far as we can judge, were conceived in athletic forms. It was, apparently, the Dorian sculptors who first broke with the law of frontality, and began to pose their standing figures with the weight resting on one leg, in the so-called "firm leg and free leg position," as in the small bronze figure of an athlete found at Ligourio in Argolis, now in Berlin (Fig. 10). This was an innovation of far-reaching importance. It was evidently introduced well before the end of the archaic period, for in the figures from the pediment of the temple on the island of Aegina, the famous Aegina marbles, now in Munich, the fighting heroes are posed with absolute freedom, though the heads, for the most part, still retain the bulging eyes, the formal hair, and the meaningless smile (Fig. 11).

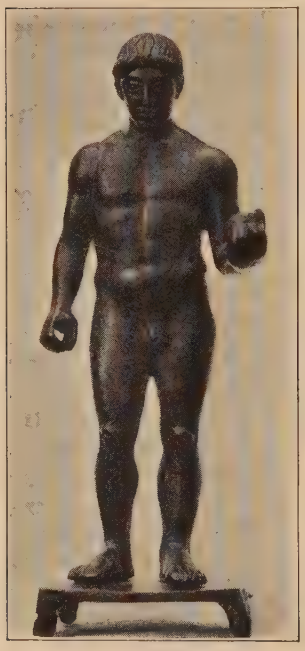


Fig. 10. STATUETTE FROM LIGOURIO

Berlin. (*50tes Programm zum Winckelmannsfeste*, Berlin)

Even in the heads, however, the most advanced products of the archaic period sometimes show a distinct improvement. One of the latest of the female figures from the Persian *débris* on the Athenian Acropolis presents a sharp contrast to the lifeless forms of most of its companions (Fig. 12). Here there is no trace of the archaic smile; the lips curve downwards, rather than upwards, and the nickname, "la petite boudeuse," given to the figure by a French critic, has been quite generally adopted by later writers. The eyes are not yet sufficiently sunk under the brows, but are worked out with rather thick lids, which cast considerable shadow and give a more life-

FIG. 11. HERACLES FROM AEGINA
Munich. (Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, pl. 27)

FIG. 12. DRAPED FEMALE FIGURE
Acropolis Museum, Athens
(Photograph by Alinari)

FIG. 13. MALE HEAD
Acropolis Museum, Athens
(Photograph by Alinari)

like setting; the hair, though formal, is drawn away from the central parting in simple waves, which produce a more natural effect than the elaborate coiffures of the majority of the female figures of archaic art; and the drapery, with its flat folds, is much more simply rendered. As the Aegina warriors represent the highest achievement of the early sculptors in the portrayal of action, so this figure and a male head from the Acropolis which

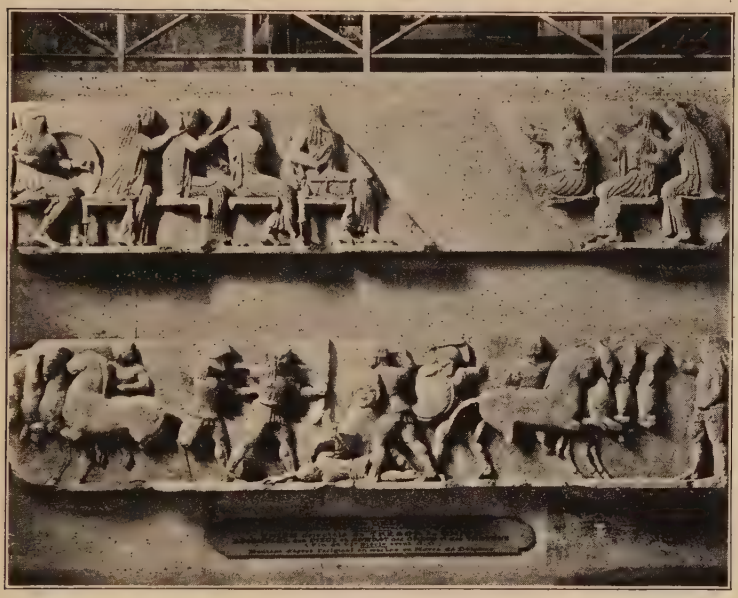


FIG. 14. HOMERIC BATTLE
Delphi. (Photograph by Giraudon)

is closely related to it in style (Fig. 13) show these masters at their best in the rendering of the head. The tendency to greater sobriety and simplicity which these Attic works reveal is probably rightly attributed to the influence of Dorian models, after the overthrow of the tyranny in 510 had led to the establishment of a democratic constitution at Athens.

The reliefs of the later archaic time follow, in general, the same lines of development as the figures in the round. There is

a marked tendency to more lively poses, great emphasis on details of drapery and anatomy, and, in general, the sculptors give evidence in many ways of increasing ability to express their ideas. The well-preserved frieze from Delphi, in which is represented a Homeric battle in the presence of an assembly of gods (Fig. 14), is a very typical work of the latter part of the sixth century, especially in the action of the fighting men and some of the onlooking gods, and in the great care expended on the hair and the drapery of the figures. This was found in the ruins of one of the small temple-like buildings at Delphi, which Pausanius calls treasuries, and which were erected by the separate states at Apollo's shrine. This building is usually thought to be the treasury of the Ionian Siphnians, and so much of it was found by the French explorers that they were able to reconstruct the façade in plaster in the local Museum of Delphi (Fig. 15), a reconstruction which gives an excellent idea of the charm and decorative quality of Greek sculpture of the later archaic period.

Such, very briefly, is the development of Greek sculpture before the Persian Wars, as we can trace it in some of the best-known monuments that time and chance have preserved. In American collections, there are, as yet, comparatively few examples of the work of this period. Most directors of museums and private collectors have very naturally preferred to purchase works of a later date, which make a more distinctly aesthetic appeal. But it is a striking fact that the comparatively few examples in this country illustrate most of the important phases of the archaic development. To begin with figures in the round, the Metropolitan Museum in New York has recently acquired a life-size head which shows many of the characteristic features of the early Apollo type (Fig. 16). The bulging eyes, hardly sunk at all beneath the brows, the smiling mouth, the rendering

FIG. 15. FAÇADE OF THE TREASURY OF THE SIPHNIANS, RESTORED
Delphi. (Photograph by Giraudon)

of the hair by what has sometimes been called the "string of pearls" method, that is, by cutting a series of vertical and horizontal grooves and then rounding off the resulting small masses, are features that are found again and again in the earliest statues, both male and female. Less usual is the treatment of the hair over the forehead, where it is confined by a fillet and surmounted by a diadem, as a succession of flame-like locks, though

FIG. 16. ARCHAIC MALE HEAD
Metropolitan Museum, New York

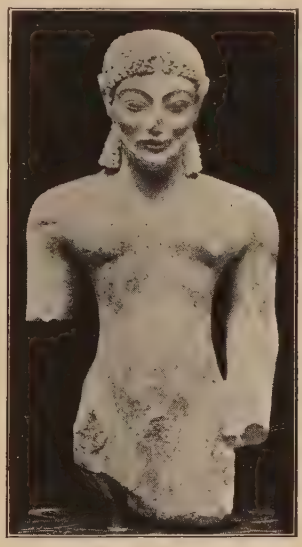


FIG. 17. ARCHAIC MALE FIGURE
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

this also is found in a few examples. Most unusual of all is the narrow and retreating chin. The archaic sculptors, in general, were prone to represent this portion of the face as heavy and prominent. The unusual form here employed, combined with the very marked emphasis on the cheek-bones, serves to produce a decidedly individual effect and emphasizes the fact that these earliest works are never copies one of another, but show the Greek artist striving constantly to improve on the work of his predecessors and approach more closely to nature. The re-

sult is often unsatisfactory, but the attitude of the sculptor is highly significant.

To a somewhat later date we may assign a fragmentary male figure in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (Fig. 17). This is more advanced than the crudest of the Apollos, having the arms well cut away from the sides and a somewhat better attempt at modelling in the muscles of the breast and abdomen, though the breast muscles are curiously exaggerated. The right arm, too, appears to have been bent at the elbow and brought forward in

FIG. 18. RAMPIN HEAD
The Louvre. (Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, pl. 552)

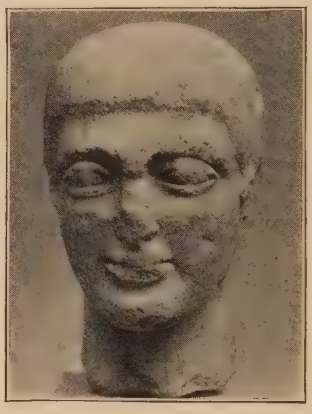


FIG. 19. ARCHAIC MALE HEAD
Metropolitan Museum, New York

a way that is not common in the earliest figures. But the stiff frontal position, the prominent eyes, the large ears placed too high, and the smiling mouth are all typical of the early attempts to render the human face, and the hair and the beard, with their pattern-like treatment, show remarkably well the archaic sculptor's struggle with such details. In these respects the head is strikingly similar to a famous example in the Louvre, called the Rampin head from the name of a former owner (Fig. 18). This is generally believed to be an Attic work of the period of the female figures from the Acropolis (Fig. 9). The resemblance is

not close enough to justify us in attributing the Boston statue to an Attic master, but it seems clear that both works reveal the influence of the Ionic art which so clearly affected the Attic sculptors of later archaic times.

The increasing naturalism and the greater sobriety which we noted in the sculpture of the last decades of the archaic period are very evident in a marble head of a young man in the Metropolitan collection (Fig. 19). This is the work of an Attic master of about the year 500 B.C., considerably later than the Rampin head and somewhat earlier than the most advanced heads from the Persian *débris* (Fig. 13). Although this head is a good deal damaged, the maker's understanding of the bony structure is at once evident. The lips retain only the slightest suggestion of a smile, the eyes are fairly well sunk under the brows and the lids well emphasized, though the eyeballs are still too prominent. The treatment of the hair as a mass, with all details left for the painter to supply, is found in other works of the late archaic time, and marks a reaction from the elaborate carving of the Ionic schools. The whole, indeed, reveals just that combination of old Attic, Ionic, and Doric traits which is found in Athenian sculpture in the later archaic time and out of which was developed the grand art of the fifth century.

Of the archaic draped female type, the most complete example in this country is a small marble figure in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 20). Though only a little more than two feet in height, it has much of the quality of larger works. Like many other figures of the archaic time, the woman is represented as bringing offerings, in this case a pomegranate and a rabbit. Her dress is the Ionic chiton, a rectangular piece of cloth, folded over at the top, fastened at the shoulders with pins, with the extra width pinned or buttoned over the arms to form short sleeves. The rippling lines of the overhanging portion and the

flat folds of the skirt are among the common conventions of the period of advanced archaism. The skirt is draped, however, in an unusual way, drawn tight around the hips, with the extra fullness gathered together in front and held in place by tucking an end under the girdle. For this arrangement there are analogies in two torsos found by the Germans at Miletus — a dis-

Fig. 20. ARCHAIC FEMALE FIGURE
Metropolitan Museum, New York

covery that suggests an Ionic origin for the New York statue. The omission of all details of drapery at the back suggests that the figure was meant to be seen from the front. Several other features, also, are quite unusual. The head seems later in date than the body. The eyes are fairly well sunk under the brows, the mouth shows only the slightest trace of a smile, and the hair, confined by a net or veil, is very simply rendered. All this is

more in the manner of the years just after 500 than in that of the sixth century. Moreover, the head is made of a separate piece of marble, and the back view shows that the figure originally had long hair falling to the shoulders, such as is common in archaic work. Yet the head seems genuinely early. It has none of the qualities of the archaizing heads of later times, and it certainly

Fig. 21. ARCHAIC FEMALE FIGURE
Metropolitan Museum, New York

does not seem modern. The only plausible explanation of these peculiarities is that the statue was damaged in the early years of the fifth century, supplied with a new head in the style of the time, and the mass of hair over the shoulders was then cut away. It is possible that the left arm also was replaced in the fifth century, since it is made of a separate piece of marble.

Besides this statue there is in the Metropolitan Museum a fragmentary archaic figure of developed type, which, in spite of its worn condition, is recognizable at once as very similar to the series of female figures from the Athenian Acropolis (Fig. 21). Like them, she wears the heavy himation, draped in elaborate

folds over an Ionic chiton, which was apparently grasped in the left hand and so drawn tight about the legs. Four locks of hair fall in front of each shoulder. The right hand was extended and no doubt held an offering. The back of the figure is much better preserved than the front, and shows very well the characteristic swallow-tail folds for the lower edge of the mantle. The finding-place, the island of Paros, points to an Ionic sculptor as the author.

FIG. 22. ARCHAIC FEMALE HEAD FROM SICYON
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Neither of these figures gives us a really archaic head, since, as we have seen, the head of the more complete statue is of later date than the body. But here the Boston Museum comes to our aid with a very interesting head from Sicyon, which once more reminds us of the female figures from Athens (Fig. 22). This, to be sure, is not carved in marble, but in limestone; but in its main features it recalls the Athenian statue at which we looked a few moments ago (Fig. 9). The most noteworthy similarity is in the eyes, which are set obliquely in both heads, as if the sculptor were experimenting to see if this would not produce a more animated effect. But there are many other similarities: the exaggerated curves of the lips, the diadem and the earrings, the treatment of the hair above the forehead as a series of separate locks, each of which ends in a snail-shell curl. There can be no doubt that the two are roughly contemporary works of the second half of the sixth century, and the finding of the Boston head in the Doric city of Sicyon brings further evidence, if any is needed, of the powerful influence which Ionian models exercised at this time upon the sculptors of a large part of Greece.

These works, then, illustrate most of the characteristic features of archaic sculpture in the round. Their evidence can be supplemented by that of small bronze figures, such as were used for many purposes by the Greeks, especially as dedicatory offerings to the gods and as ornamental parts of utensils. Most of these are very similar to the types developed for figures in stone, and show how closely the lesser artists followed the example set by the makers of larger statues. The small Hermes carrying a ram, in the Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 23), which was doubtless dedicated at some sanctuary, has all the qualities of the "Apollos." The shoulders are broad, the hips narrow, the calves of the legs heavy. The left foot was slightly in advance of the right, and the face has the prominent eyes, the smiling mouth, and the pattern-like treatment of hair and beard which we have noted so often. Yet, by the addition of the round hat, the ram, the heavy boots, and the herald's staff (which doubtless was held in the pierced right hand), the modeller transformed the type into the messenger god, protector of flocks and herds. So, too, the figure of Aphrodite in the same collection (Fig. 24), which served as the support for a mirror, recalls at once the female figures from the Athenian Acropolis. Like them, she is dressed in a chiton and an elaborately draped himation, which she grasps with her left hand. Her right is extended and holds a flower. The winged Erotes who hover about her

FIG. 23. HERMES CARRYING A RAM
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

serve not only to characterize her as the goddess of love and beauty, who presides over the mysteries of the toilet, but help to make the transition to the curving bar on which the bronze mirror was supported.

Finally, to complete our survey of works in the round, mention should be made of the very decorative lion in the Museum

Fig. 24. APHRODITE WITH TWO EROTES
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

of Fine Arts (Fig. 25). This was probably carved to adorn a tomb, since such animal guardians for the last resting place are common in all periods of Greek art. With the body in profile and the head in full front, it was clearly executed from a single point of view. The forms are not very accurate. The legs, and especially the paws, are far too large for the body, and even the head is not very lifelike. Probably this is partly to be explained

by the fact that the maker had never seen a lion, but was imitating, to the best of his ability, some work of oriental art or some other Greek imitation of an oriental model. Perhaps, too, he would not have been greatly disturbed if he had been told that his work did not suggest a living lion, for it seems clear that his principal aim was to produce a decorative figure, not a realistic copy from nature. The regular arrangement of the locks of the mane, and above all the plaited pattern on the hind leg, which has only the remotest relation to the longer hair which suggested it, point in that direction, and once more emphasize one of the most persistent traits of archaic art.

Fig. 25. ARCHAIC LION
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

In early works in relief, our museums are not quite so well off as in works in the round. Yet, here again, we have enough to show the *quality*, at least, of the products of the period. The earliest examples are the slabs from the temple at Assos in the Museum of Fine Arts. These have a particular interest in that they came from the first organized work of research in Greek lands undertaken by Americans. In 1881, two years after Professor Charles Eliot Norton founded the Archaeological Institute of America, that society dispatched an expedition to explore the ruins of ancient Assos, in northwestern Asia Minor. Many years before, in 1838, a French expedition had carried off to Paris a number of slabs with reliefs, which lay on the surface of the ground about the ruins of a Doric temple. The American explorers, carrying on systematic excavations, recovered several

other slabs, most of which, under the Turkish law, were sent to the Ottoman Museum at Constantinople. Those that they were allowed to keep were presented to the Museum of Fine Arts. The whole series of reliefs from Assos is peculiar in many ways and has been the subject of many controversies. Though some of them are metopes, and so conform to the common scheme of decoration for a Doric temple, the most interesting are carved on blocks of the architrave, a very unusual arrangement. Moreover, the figures do not represent a single subject, but each block, apparently, was carved for itself. The portions

Fig. 26. HERACLES PURSUING THE CENTAURS
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

in the Boston Museum include a pair of confronted Sphinxes and several figures from a representation of Heracles pursuing the Centaurs (Fig. 26). The myth which is here presented is one of the less familiar adventures of the great hero. The story goes that during the quest of the Erymanthian boar, Heracles came to the cave of the Centaur Pholus, who offered him hospitality. With his meat, the hero asked for wine, and Pholus then remembered that he had received a jar of wine from Dionysus himself, with instructions to keep it until Heracles should visit him. When the wine was opened, its odor attracted the other Centaurs of the neighborhood, and they attacked Heracles with clubs and stones. The hero drove away those who came nearest with firebrands and then pursued them with his bow

until at last he succeeded in killing the bravest of them and driving the rest to the southernmost end of Greece. The subject is fairly common in early Greek art and is usually treated as it is here, with Heracles pursuing the Centaurs with drawn bow.

There has been a good deal of dispute as to the date of the reliefs from Assos, but many features of them seem to point to the sixth century, — the long, thin bodies of the Centaurs, their angular and awkward gestures, the strict observance of the profile position, so that the two Centaurs who look back at Heracles turn their heads completely about. A less weighty argument can be found in the type of the Centaurs, who have in many cases a complete human body, with the body and the hind legs of a horse attached to it. This type is fairly common in works of the sixth century, and is rare in later periods, when the type with four horse's legs and human form to the waist only is the favorite. But as both types are found after the archaic period, this argument affords no conclusive evidence for date. The other features of the style, however, seem to me good evidence for a date about the middle of the sixth century, or a little later. The figure behind Heracles, who holds a drinking cup and raises his left hand in gesture of astonishment or encouragement, is probably to be interpreted as his host, Pholus, who, no doubt, was represented like the other Centaurs.

More advanced in character and probably somewhat later in date than the reliefs from Assos is the most imposing monument of archaic art in this country, an Attic stele or grave-monument in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 27). In the arrangement of the ancient sculptures in the Central Hall of the new Classical Wing of the Metropolitan, this monument has been given the most prominent position in the center of the room, to which it is clearly entitled because of its size. It is, in fact, the largest monument of its kind yet discovered, measur-

ing over thirteen feet in height. Originally, the height was even greater, for on the top the forefeet of a lion, or perhaps a sphinx, carved in the round, have been preserved. It is noticeable that the remarkable height was obtained, for the most part, by adding unusual features to the upper part of the stone. The lower portion, with its carved figures only slightly over life size, an inscribed socle of marble and a rougher block as a base, conforms in general to the scheme of most early Greek grave monuments. To this the maker has here added a rectangular field above the head of the principal figure (which may have been decorated with painting), an elaborate crowning ornament, in which can still be seen some traces of a painted palmetto with scrolls, and the lion or sphinx which finished off the whole.

All these are interesting details, and so is the inscription, which, in spite of its mutilation, informs us that the monument was erected by a father for his son. But the principal interest, after all, lies in the relief itself. Like most grave monuments of the archaic period, it represents the occupant of the tomb. In setting the fragments together, the authorities of the Metropolitan had the outlines of the missing portions painted in, so that the composition is clear. The principal figure is a young man in profile to right, holding in his left hand a pomegranate. From his wrist hangs an oil-flask, the mark of the young athlete. In front of him is a much smaller figure of a girl, which is probably to be interpreted as his sister. She too, is in profile to right and holds a flower in her left hand. The head of this figure in New York is a plaster cast; the original is in Berlin. A good deal of the paint that originally added brilliancy to the monument is preserved. About the head, the background retains many traces of red, which was probably the original color, since other archaic reliefs show similar traces of red backgrounds. Red also

FIG. 27. ARCHAIC ATTIC GRAVESTONE
Metropolitan Museum, New York

appears on the hair of both figures, and for the eyeball of the young man, but here it is likely that this is simply underpainting for some other color like brown, since it is highly improbable that hair and background were painted the same. The lower parts of the figures are badly weathered and give us little impression of the artist's skill, but the head of the principal figure

FIG. 28. DETAIL OF ATTIC GRAVESTONE
Metropolitan Museum, New York

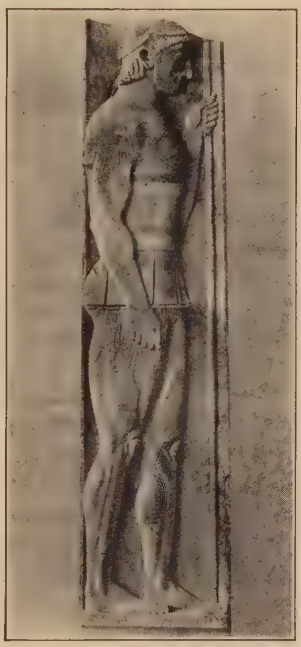


FIG. 29. STELE OF ARISTION
National Museum, Athens
(German Institute Photograph)

is remarkably well preserved, and is a fine example of Attic art of the later archaic time (Fig. 28). The eye is in full face, and very prominent; the lips are skilfully carved, though with some traces of the archaic smile; the ear is fairly well modelled, but badly placed; the hair exhibits the formal treatment which is usual in the early period, but the rows of spiral curls are very delicately rendered. The whole head, in fact, undeniably has

something of the grace which Greek writers emphasize as a prevailing characteristic of later Attic art. Among well-known grave monuments, there are several close parallels to the New York stele. One of the closest is the famous stele of Aristion in Athens (Fig. 29), which shows close similarity in composition

Fig. 30. MOUNTED WARRIOR
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

and execution, and even in the use of color. Both are surely datable in the second half of the sixth century.

The latest monument of archaic relief in America is in the Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 30). It is exhibited in the fifth century room, and undoubtedly was carved in that century, but in the early years, before the Persian invasion. It represents a fully armed warrior, with breastplate, greaves, high-crested helmet, and sword, seated easily on the back of a spirited horse. Though much is lost, it is clear that the work represents a great

advance over what we have seen before. The motion of horse and rider is well suggested by the flying folds of the military cape; the horse's head evidently was turned to look towards the spectator, a great innovation; and the anatomy of the horse in breast and crupper seems well understood and accurately rendered. The horse, indeed, finds a close parallel in several fragmentary figures from the Athenian Acropolis, which are among the latest works from the Persian *débris*. The only markedly archaic mannerisms are in the formal lines of the drapery. With such a work we come close to the succeeding period, in which the last lingering traces of archaism disappeared.

LECTURE II

THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION

The three decades that followed the Persian wars were years of great importance in the development of Greece. In the defeat of the barbarian invaders, the Greeks saw the seal of the gods set upon their civilization, and it is hardly an exaggeration to say that the whole splendid development in literature and in art, which makes the Fifth Century in Greece one of the great epochs in the history of the world, was a direct result of the Persian wars. In the history of sculpture, the thirty years from 480 to 450 B.C. are usually called the Transitional Period, since they saw the change from archaic formalism to absolute freedom.

Among the original works of the period which have been preserved, the most important group is the series of decorative sculptures from the temple of Zeus at Olympia, built about 460 B.C. Parts of three metopes were discovered by a French expedition in 1829 and are now in the Louvre, but most of the sculpture was recovered by the Germans in their thorough excavation of Olympia in 1875–1881 and is now in a local museum at Olympia itself. The temple was destroyed by an earthquake and the sculptures were much shattered by their fall, but enough was recovered to make possible a restoration of the groups from both pediments (Fig. 31). The arrangement is one which was proposed by Professor Treu of Dresden, and which is now generally accepted. The subjects are known from the account of Pausanias, who tells us that the eastern pediment represented the preparations for the chariot race between Pelops and Oenomaus; the western, the battle of the Centaurs and the

Lapiths. Though some of the figures are very fragmentary, others are fairly well preserved, and show well the character of transitional sculpture. The central figures of the eastern pediment (Fig. 32) represent (from left to right) Hippodamia, daughter of Oenomaus, for whose hand the race was run;

FIG. 31. PEDIMENTAL GROUPS OF THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS AT OLYMPIA, RESTORED
(Luckenbach, *Olympia und Delphi*, Figs. 13 and 14)

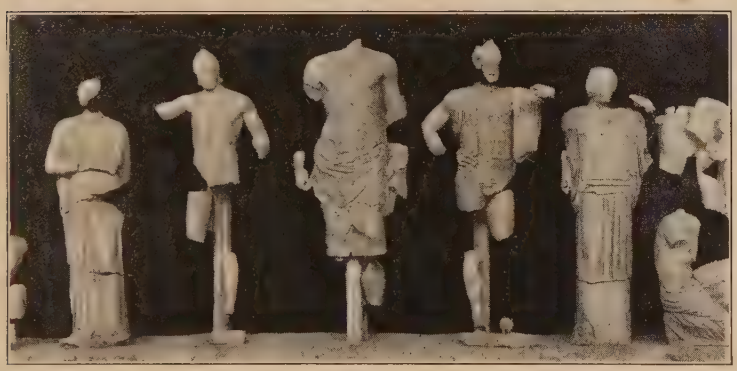


FIG. 32. CENTRAL GROUP FROM EASTERN PEDIMENT
Olympia

Pelops, the challenger; Zeus, who is present as the arbiter of the contest; Oenomaus; and Sterope, his wife. All are posed in the "firm leg and free leg" position, which was generally adopted in this period for standing figures. The treatment, both of the nude and of the drapery, is sometimes hasty and superficial, but

all the figures show an attempt to render the forms as they actually appear in nature. Only in the heads are there marked reminiscences of archaic art. Thus in the remarkably well preserved Apollo from the western pediment (Fig. 33), the eyes are not quite sufficiently sunk under the brows, the ears are set too

Fig. 33. APOLLO FROM WESTERN PEDIMENT
Olympia

high, the hair is somewhat formal; and similar archaic traits are found in other heads from the temple sculptures. Yet it is notable that there is in most cases an attempt, at least, to express the feelings of the subject. The curving lips of Apollo seem to suggest his scorn of the brutal Centaurs who have disturbed the marriage feast of Pirithous, and other heads from the pediments exhibit similar fairly successful attempts at facial expression.

There is as yet no agreement as to the school to which these sculptures should be assigned. Most modern critics reject the statement of Pausanias that the eastern pediment was by Paeonius of Mende, a sculptor of northern Greece, and the western by Alcamenes, an Athenian. The work is often attributed to Dorian sculptors on the ground that Olympia is in Doric territory, or because of the very evident interest in the nude. But many details, such as the rather fleshy appearance of many of the figures, point to a certain amount, at least, of Ionic influence, and others suggest the influence of the contemporary fresco paintings of Polygnotus and other masters, so that the whole problem of the authorship of these sculptures is one of great difficulty. They show, at all events, the progress that was being made in the abandonment of archaic mannerisms and towards a simpler, more natural representation of the human figure.

Fig. 34. BRONZE CHARIOTEER
Delphi. (Photograph by Giraudon)

The same point is illustrated by another work, the bronze Charioteer, discovered in 1896 by the French in their excavation of the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, and now in the local museum there (Fig. 34). The fame of this statue is partly due to the fact that large figures in bronze are comparatively rare among the preserved works of the ancient sculptors. Unless they were accidentally buried, such figures were melted up, for the metal they contained, by the later inhabitants of Greece and Italy, and, as it happens, the Charioteer is the only life-size

bronze from the transitional period of which more than fragments have been preserved.

This unique character has given the Charioteer a prominent place in all recent histories of Greek sculpture, but on its merits alone it deserves to rank high. Many parts of the work testify to the keen observation of the maker. The hands and the feet are masterpieces of accurate modelling. The robe, though rather formal in the lower portion, is treated with great variety in the upper part, where the fullness was confined by a cord, which has been lost. So great is this variety, so unsymmetrical the folds about the shoulders, that one suspects that in this case, at least, the sculptor made use of a posed model. Just as in the case of the Apollo at Olympia, it is in the head of the Charioteer that we note the lingering traces of archaism. The eyes seem still slightly too prominent, the eyebrows preternaturally sharp; the mouth is quite expressionless; and the hair, with the exception of the parts above the temples, is worked out in a series of flat, close-lying locks. At the same time, certain features of the head show clearly the increasing naturalism which is characteristic of the period. In front of the ears, the first growth of beard is carefully rendered, a detail which is found in some contemporary statues and in vase-paintings of the so-called later severe red-figured style. The little cups of bronze filled with enamels to represent the eyes, which here, by great good fortune, are preserved, have their edges slightly notched to suggest the lashes — a very significant detail.

A long controversy has raged about the exact date of the Charioteer and its author. My own opinion is that it was made about 470 B.C. and perhaps by the Athenian Calamis. The tradition that Calamis was famous for the making of horses and chariots and for a certain "nameless grace" at least lends plausibility to this theory.

Of the great men of this period, our knowledge, after all, is most unsatisfactory. Only one of the transitional sculptors who are mentioned by ancient writers, the Athenian Myron, has a definite personality; and he was clearly an artist of decidedly individual tendencies, who can hardly be called typical of any school. Though all of Myron's works have perished, we have copies of at least two of them, from which we can gain a fairly clear idea of this ancient master.

This is the first time that we have had to deal with copies, and it may be worth while, therefore, to digress for a moment and consider the nature of the copies on which much of our knowledge of ancient sculpture depends. In the later days of antiquity, especially after the Roman conquest of Greece, there was evidently an enormous demand for reproductions of the famous works of Greek sculpture, and numerous artists devoted themselves to supplying this demand. The "Roman copies" which these men turned out vary tremendously in quality. Some seem to reproduce their originals with considerable exactness, others are obviously far inferior to them. Often one copy was made from another, and sometimes the copyists did not hesitate to alter the originals in details, so that many of their productions are reflections rather than copies, in any exact sense. One very common alteration was the addition of a support in the form of a tree-stump or some other object. This was almost always employed when the copyist, as frequently happened, was working out a marble copy of a bronze original. Moreover, up to very recent times, mutilated ancient statues, when they were dug out of the ground, were commonly handed over to a marble-worker for "restoration," that is, for the addition of legs or heads or noses, whatever, in fact, was necessary to make the statue complete. Thus we have constantly to keep in mind that in dealing with copies, the problem often is to de-

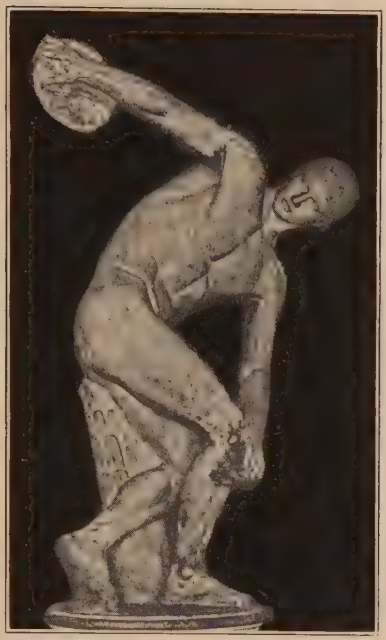
termine, from several widely divergent and differently restored copies, the general appearance and the details of an ancient statue.

This method of procedure is excellently illustrated by the most famous of Myron's works, the Discobolus, or Discus-thrower. The copies of this which have been found vary greatly

FIG. 35. DISCOBOLUS OF MYRON, RESTORED
National Museum, Rome
(Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, pl. 632)

in details, as the four reproduced in Figure 36 sufficiently show. All are marred by the supporting tree-stump, though this was differently treated by different copyists. Only one (Fig. 36B) has a head which has never been broken off and which shows the original position, as it is described by Lucian. One fragmentary copy (Fig. 36D) was completely misunderstood by the sculptor to whom it was handed over and restored as a fleeing

A. British Museum. (Photograph by Mansell)



B. Lancelotti Palace, Rome. (Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, pl. 256)

C. From Castel Porziano. National Museum, Rome (Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, pl. 631)

D. Uffizi Palace, Florence. (Photograph by Alinari)

FIG. 36. FOUR COPIES OF THE DISCOBOLUS OF MYRON

Niobid! Among the modern attempts to suggest the appearance of the original bronze, the most successful is that made by the authorities of the National Museum in Rome (Fig. 35), using especially the copy from Castel Porziano.

The Discobolus is justly famous for its splendid suggestion of vigorous manhood, its bold pose, its perfect balance. If it were not for the formal locks of hair, the rather expressionless face, and some ancient evidence which fixes the career of Myron in the first half of the fifth century, the statue might well be regarded as a work of the great age of Greek sculpture. As it is, we must probably assign the original to the years just before 450, and regard the unusual freedom with which it is conceived as proof of the originality of Myron rather than as evidence of a general adoption of such active poses by the men of the transitional time. Such an inference is borne out by some other works of the master, such as his group of Athena and Marsyas (Fig. 37), and especially his Ladas, a statue of a runner poised on tiptoe just as he reached the goal, a work of which only literary accounts are preserved. Moreover, down to the time of Alexander the Great such violent action as is suggested by these works was rarely represented by the Greek sculptors. These particular innovations, therefore, were little imitated by Myron's immediate successors, but there can be little doubt that much of the progress made during the transitional period was due to his initiative.

In work in relief, the advance is equally notable. Here again, the temple of Zeus at Olympia has furnished some of the finest examples. In the twelve sculptured metopes which decorated the ends of the temple proper, the twelve labors of Heracles were represented in high relief (Fig. 38). In these we find the same qualities that we noticed in the pedimental figures: striving for simplicity and directness, and successful attempts at

more expressive faces, combined with lingering traces of archaic mannerisms, especially in the heads.

Even more impressive than these metopes is a three-sided relief in Rome commonly called the Ludovisi Throne, which is, perhaps, the finest example of transitional relief that has survived (Fig. 47). Ever since its discovery in 1887, this has been a subject of discussion; and interest in it was increased in recent years by the exhibition of a companion piece at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston when the new building was opened in 1909 (Fig. 46). This we shall consider in detail later in the present lecture, and I shall therefore reserve the Ludovisi Throne for discussion at that time. But it ought to be mentioned in this place, in connection with a survey of the most prominent remains of transitional sculpture.

In American collections, the transitional time is the least well represented of all our periods. We have, so far as I am aware, no original large work in the round. But the Museum of Fine Arts possesses two Roman copies of transitional works, which give an excellent idea of many of the characteristic qualities of this period. The first of these is a life-size head broken from the statue of which it formed a part (Fig. 39). The qualities that suggest the transitional time are especially the sharp line of the eyebrows, the thick-lidded eyes, not quite sufficiently sunk, the straight line of the lips, which have lost the archaic smile without gaining a very definite expression, and above all, the very formal treatment of the hair. The appearance of the original is known from a copy of the whole figure now in Rome. This shows that the head is that of a goddess, not an Apollo or some other god, as might, perhaps, be thought if we had to base our judgment on the head alone. The point is an interesting one and emphasizes one feature of the sculpture of the early fifth century. It is true, in general, that the heads of male and female

FIG. 37. ATHENA AND MARSYAS OF MYRON, RESTORED
Archaeological Museum, Munich. (*Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1908)

FIG. 38. HERACLES CLEANSING THE STABLES OF AUGEAS
Olympia

figures were not sharply differentiated during this time. Male heads still occasionally had long hair, following the archaic convention, and female heads, with their rather heavy chins and thick-lidded eyes, were often suggestive of masculine types. The whole statue is very similar to a well-known work of the period, the so-called Giustiniani Vesta in the Torlonia Museum in Rome (Fig. 40). Unfortunately, this similarity does not help us greatly to place the Boston head more definitely, for there is no general agreement as to the sculptor or even the school of the Giustiniani Vesta. By some critics it is regarded as a Peloponnesian work on account of the severe and simple treatment of the drapery and a general likeness to the female figures of the Olympia pediments. Others would assign it, with the Olympia pediments, to a northern Greek school under Doric influence; and others still, arguing especially from the oval face, which certainly is unlike the faces of the Olympia figures, have argued for an Attic sculptor, perhaps Calamis. To me the theory of an Athenian origin seems the most probable, and to this school I am inclined to assign the original of the Boston head. But our knowledge of the schools of this period is still too uncertain to justify any dogmatic statement. The date of the original, at all events, is reasonably sure. It must have been made about the year 460, and in its severity and simplicity, its suggestion of lingering archaism, it is a very typical work of the time.

Fig. 39. HEAD OF A GODDESS
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

The second transitional work in the Museum of Fine Arts is a well preserved statuette of Heracles some twenty-two inches

high (Fig. 41). The hero is represented standing quietly, with left leg firm and right leg bent, in the usual pose for single statues in the fifth century. He has his usual attributes, the club and the lion's skin, and is further characterized by his stocky form and powerful muscles. An ancient engraved gem on which a similar figure is represented suggests that the lost left hand held a bow,

FIG. 40. GIUSTINIANI VESTA
Torlonia Museum, Rome
(Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, pl. 491)

FIG. 41. HERACLES
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

which in earlier Greek art (the relief from Assos, Fig. 26, is an excellent example) is constantly represented as one of the weapons of Heracles. The weariness that is suggested by the slightly drooping head is unusual in fifth-century works, which commonly represent Heracles as full of fiery energy. That the original was a work of the transitional age, however, is evident from the curls of the hair and the beard, and from the hardness with

which the muscles are modelled. The hair suggests an original of bronze, and this is confirmed by the awkward tree-stump which serves as a support. There is much to be said for the theory that the author of the original was Myron. Apart from the general athletic character of the figure, the muscles of the torso and the hair show marked similarity in treatment to those

FIG. 42. DISCOBOLUS
Metropolitan Museum, New York

FIG. 43. ATHLETE
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

of the Discobolus. If the original was not by Myron himself, it must have been the work of a close follower of the great master, and is therefore to be assigned to the Attic school.

These two works illustrate very well the qualities of the sculpture of the transitional age; and here again, as in the case of the archaic period, smaller figures in bronze can be used to fill out the picture. Among the treasures of the Metropolitan Museum

is a figure of a discus-thrower, some nine and a fourth inches tall, so carefully modelled that it creates the impression of a larger work (Fig. 42). The moment chosen for representation is one which, in actual practice, preceded the action represented in Myron's statue. Vase-paintings show that this was a common pose as the athlete took his position for the throw, and the statuette itself suggests this moment in the cramped toes of the right foot, which evidently grip the ground as firmly as possible. Though the subject suggests a comparison with the Discobolus of Myron, it is clear that the New York statuette must be dated somewhat earlier than that famous work. The muscles are accurately modelled in the broad manner of fifth-century sculpture, but there are exaggerations, especially in the muscles of the calves, which smack of archaic art. The head, also, shows many of the traits of later archaic work, such as the badly modelled and badly placed ears, the heavy-lidded eyes, the cap-like hair, and the expressionless mouth. The date of the figure, therefore, must be early in the transitional time; it cannot be much later than 480 B.C. The heavy muscles and the thick neck suggest a Dorian, rather than an Ionic or an Attic master, and as the statuette is said to have been found in the Peloponnesus, we are safe in assigning it to a Dorian school. An interesting comparison may be made between this figure and a small bronze in the Boston Museum, which is said to have been found on the site of Croton in southern Italy, and is presumably the work of a local sculptor (Fig. 43). Here, too, we have an example of transitional sculpture, but one that shows quite different tendencies in its greater slenderness and lack of emphasis on the muscular forms.

Another very characteristic work of the period is a figure in the Metropolitan collection, probably to be interpreted as a young man saluting a divinity (Fig. 44). The interpretation is

based on the position of the right hand, which is raised to the lips. The muscles are rendered in the accurate but hard manner of the time, and the broad shoulders, the badly formed ears, and the close-fitting hair, are traits that we have noted in other works of the period. The corrosion of the surface injures somewhat the appearance of the statuette, but in spite of this, it pro-

FIG. 44. MAN SALUTING A DIVINITY
Metropolitan Museum, New York

FIG. 45. JUMPER
Metropolitan Museum, New York

duces an effect of dignity and largeness, and may well serve to suggest the appearance of larger works in bronze.

Finally, the striving of the men of this period for new and animated poses may be shown by still another small bronze in the Metropolitan collection (Fig. 45). That this represents an athlete is generally agreed, but exactly how the pose should be explained is not clear. The figure has sometimes been called a

diver, but a diver surely would lean farther forward, and unless the Greek manner of diving was very different from ours, would naturally hold his hands together. It has been argued that the maker tried to represent two actions of the dive at the same time, suggesting the moment before the spring in the pose of the body, the moment just after by the position of the hands. But this explanation is difficult for a work of such an advanced character. On the whole, the suggestion that it is a jumper who is here represented is the most plausible, and it seems to me that he is at the moment of the take-off rather than at the moment of landing, as some have argued. The style is more advanced than that of any work that we have so far seen. The modelling is softer and more delicate, and the difficult position, though it produces a rather ugly figure, is cleverly caught and rendered. The hair, with its arrangement as a series of irregular locks, produces a fairly natural effect. There is, in fact, hardly a trace of archaism except in the heavy eyelids. The date of the work, therefore, must be close to the middle of the fifth century, and we are justified in seeing, in the athletic model and the very free pose, the influence of Myron.

As a specimen of transitional work in relief, I have only one example from an American collection to show you, but that a most important and interesting one — the three-sided relief in the Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 46), to which I have already referred as a pendant to the so-called Ludovisi Throne in Rome (Fig. 47). The history of the two reliefs, so far as it is known, suggests a close connection between them. Both are said to have been found in the gardens of the Villa Ludovisi. One was purchased for the National Museum in Rome, the other was bought for a private collection in England, from which it was acquired by the Museum of Fine Arts.

Few works of ancient sculpture have been so much discussed

FIG. 46. THE BOSTON RELIEF
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. (*Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, XXVI, 1911, pl. 1)

FIG. 47. THE "LUDOVISI THRONE"
National Museum, Rome. (*Jahrbuch das kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, XXVI, 1911, pl. 1)

in recent years as these reliefs, and it must be confessed that they present many difficult problems. Though the general shape is the same, the dimensions of the two do not exactly correspond in any respect, a point which puts out of court some of the theories that have been advanced concerning their use. They could not, for instance, have formed the ends of a sarcophagus, because no cover could possibly be made to fit. The older theory which gave rise to the name "Ludovisi Throne" for the relief in Rome is unsatisfactory, because in neither case are the proportions those of the back and arms of a seat for a colossal statue. Of late years, the theory which has had most vogue is that they

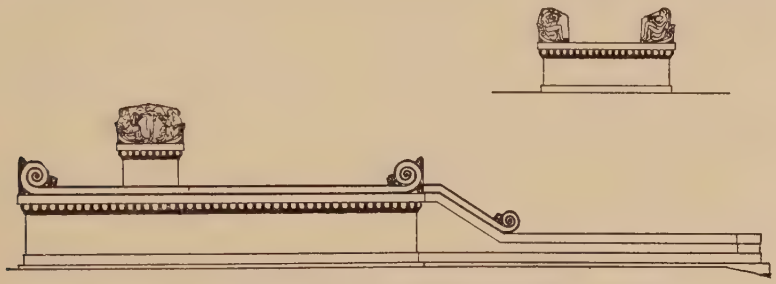


FIG. 48. THE RELIEFS AS PARAPETS AT THE ENDS OF AN ALTAR
(*American Journal of Archaeology*, XXII, 1918, p. 108)

were used as parapets at the ends of an altar, and Dr. Caskey of the Museum of Fine Arts has published, in a very careful study of the reliefs, an interesting sketch which shows, better than many words, how they might have been used (Fig. 48). The reconstruction is based on the ruins of an altar found near Miletus. In such a position, the slight differences in the measurements of the two reliefs would cause no difficulty; in fact, they would probably hardly be noticed by the average spectator. The scrolls which decorate the Boston relief, and which evidently were once associated with the Roman relief, though in that case they were carved as separate pieces and have been lost, find close analogies in the remains of actual altars. The cut-

tings for ornaments at the centre of the Boston relief and also at the corners of both monuments are readily explained if the two works were free-standing parapets. This theory, therefore, is altogether the most satisfactory explanation that has been offered in regard to the use of the two reliefs, and in recent years it has gained more and more acceptance.

Even more than the use of the two monuments, the subjects represented have given rise to many theories. But here, too, a majority of the critics agree in the suggestion that the figures have to do with the worship of Aphrodite. The principal field of the Roman relief is now generally held to represent the birth of Aphrodite from the sea, that of the Boston relief, the contest of Aphrodite and Persephone for the beautiful Adonis. For both these interpretations, many arguments based on details of the reliefs themselves can be brought forward. In the Roman relief, the central figure is clearly being drawn upwards by the two maidens, who place their hands under her arms, and lift up the lower part of her heavy drapery. The upper part of this robe clings closely to her body, as if wet. The stones which are carefully carved under the feet of the two maidens are plausibly interpreted as pebbles on the seashore. As for the maidens themselves, it is interesting that the lesser Homeric hymn to Aphrodite relates that when the goddess rose from the waves, "The Seasons with golden headbands received her gladly, and dressed her in divine robes."

The interpretation of the Boston relief is more difficult. It is evident that the subject in general is a contest between the two seated figures, which is decided by a winged boy with a pair of scales. The cuttings in the marble undoubtedly were made to receive the bar of the scales, to which were attached the two scale pans. In each of these a youthful figure is represented in low relief, and it is clear from the attitudes of the two female fig-

ures that it is the heavier scale that decides the contest. Practically all who have discussed this relief have seen in the winged boy Eros, the god of love, and this is really the only possible interpretation for this figure. The companion relief suggests some of the myths connected with Aphrodite, and among these, the story of Adonis fulfils the conditions better than any other. Our literary versions of this story relate how Aphrodite and Persephone both claimed possession of Adonis and how Zeus, to whom the dispute was finally referred, ruled that Adonis should spend one third of the year with Persephone, one third with Aphrodite, and might spend the third third as he chose. He naturally chose to spend his free time with Aphrodite in the joyous upper world, rather than with Persephone in the gloomy under world. The story does not quite fit the relief in all details, but it is always to be remembered that Greek artists did not work as illustrators of literature, and that there may have been variant versions of the myth in which Aphrodite won permanent possession of the beautiful youth. In a contest of love, Eros rather than Zeus as the judge is natural enough, and there is no great difficulty in recognizing the two male figures in the scale pans as both symbolizing Adonis. We may therefore interpret the figure at the left, who smiles and lifts her hand in a gesture of surprise and pleasure, as Aphrodite, the one at the right, whose bowed head clearly expresses grief, as Persephone. It has sometimes been thought that the sculptor meant to give the spectator a hint of his meaning in the small objects which he placed in the lower corners of the relief. The pomegranate, which appears in the right-hand corner, was especially sacred to the divinities of the lower world, and so is appropriate to Persephone, while the fish, which appears in the other corner, was sometimes a symbol of Aphrodite. But as these objects are repeated on the short sides of the monument, it may be that they have no special ref-

erence to any of the figures, but had to do with the ritual of the altar. However this may be, the interpretation of the three figures as Aphrodite, Eros, and Persephone is certainly the best that has yet been offered.

Quite as interesting as the larger compositions are the single figures that are carved on the wings of the two monuments. On the Ludovisi Throne, these are a nude flute-player and a woman dressed in chiton and himation, who is taking incense from a box and dropping it on an incense burner. On the Boston example, we have on one side an aged woman, dressed in a simple Doric chiton, who sits closely huddled together and originally clasped in her hands some object that has been chiselled away, and a youthful lyre-player, hardly more than a boy. The explanations which have been proposed for these figures vary greatly, especially for those of the Boston relief. The two figures of the Ludovisi Throne have generally been regarded as a courtesan and a married woman, intended to symbolize two aspects of the worship of Aphrodite. On the Boston relief, the interpretation of the principal scene as the contest for Adonis has naturally suggested that the lyre-player is Adonis himself; and the old woman has then been interpreted as Hippolyta, the nurse of Myrrha, the mother of Adonis. In favor of this it has been urged that the object in her hands was a branch of the myrrh tree, into which Myrrha was transformed. But this explanation seems decidedly forced, and the theory that these figures, like those in Rome, are to be explained as worshippers of Aphrodite, seems at once simpler and more probable. On this theory, the so-called Adonis is to be interpreted as a boy who plays the lyre because, as one critic expressed it, "he is of school age, and music is the main thing he learns"; and the old woman is one for whom the joys of golden Aphrodite are forever past. The four together symbolize the power of the great goddess, who is worshipped by young and

old alike. Whatever interpretation we adopt, we cannot but admire the skill of the sculptor in choosing these four contrasting types, with their wide variety in age, in pose, and in action.

All these controversial matters are interesting, and some discussion of them is necessary in any consideration of these two monuments. For the history of ancient art, their main interest lies in the workmanship of the reliefs themselves and their relation to earlier and later works. That they were made in the transitional age is clear from many details. In all the profile heads, the eyes, although they are no longer in full-face, as in archaic work, are not quite correctly fore-shortened. The drapery shows in places the influence of the formal arrangements of the earlier time. This is especially true of the robes of the two Seasons, with their regular, parallel folds. Even the attempt at variety here, where the folds are broken as they fall over one leg, shows that the sculptor had not attained to complete mastery, for in both cases the folds are broken over the leg which is farthest from the spectator. The lines of these legs also, are not in correct relations with the knees. In the goddesses of the Boston relief, the transition from the frontal position of the shoulders to the profile legs is not entirely satisfactory, and the smile of the Aphrodite, like that of the central Eros, is somewhat reminiscent of archaic formulae. The hair in all cases is rendered in rather formal zigzag lines. Yet all these suggestions of archaic constraint are so slight that they serve really to increase the charm of the whole, to give that touch of naïveté which appeals so strongly to modern critics in works produced just before the period of perfect freedom. And if the maker of these reliefs was not a perfect master of drawing, we must admit that he had a very developed feeling for design. In both the larger reliefs, the figures are grouped with excellent understanding. By turning the head of the rising goddess, the artist has avoided the strict

frontality which makes so many archaic figures stiff and unnatural in effect; and by varying the details of the two figures at the sides he has achieved that balance with variety which theorists tell us is the true ideal. The Season at the left wears the sleeveless Doric chiton, the one at the right, the Ionic robe with sleeves reaching to the elbow. The folds of the robe in the left-hand figure fall very straight, those of the right-hand figure show rippling lines in the upper part. In the Boston relief we can see the same principles applied. The central Eros is posed with one leg firm and the other free and so avoids the stiff effect of strict frontality. The two goddesses are not only posed in different attitudes, but also show a pleasing contrast in the arrangement of their robes. Even the wings of Eros do not show exact symmetry in the curving lines of the separate feathers.

FIG. 49. HEAD OF OLD WOMAN ON THE BOSTON RELIEF

The relation of these reliefs to other works has been almost as much discussed as their interpretation, and here again we find no absolute consensus of opinion. But the weight of opinion has tended to favor an Ionic, rather than a Doric or an Attic origin. The arguments that have most weight are the Ionic character of the scrolls on the Boston relief; the treatment of the nude in rounded forms, without much emphasis on bones and muscles, such as is characteristic of Ionic works in the archaic period; and the marked interest in the rendering of varied effects of drapery. Along with these tendencies, which seem like an inheritance from an older time, others mark the sculptor as a true child of his age. There is, especially, a tendency towards greater realism

in some of his figures, which is very characteristic of the transitional time. It is most evident in the figure of the old woman on the Boston relief, with its great emphasis on the wrinkles of the face (Fig. 49). Such a figure finds its closest analogies in the sculptures from the temple of Zeus at Olympia, especially in the aged seer from the eastern pediment and an old slave from the western pediment (Fig. 50). Like them, it brings vividly before us the successful struggle which the sculptors of this age were

FIG. 50. OLD SLAVE FROM WESTERN PEDIMENT
Olympia

making towards a more truthful rendering of nature. In this respect, the Ludovisi Throne and the Boston Relief, in spite of their many peculiarities, are typical products of their time. It is just this combination of lingering archaic mannerisms with advances towards greater accuracy and freedom that characterizes the thirty years between 480 and 450 B.C. and justifies the name "transitional."

By the middle of the fifth century, the sculptors had completely freed themselves from the trammels of the archaic conventions. With this date, therefore, the great age of Greek

sculpture is commonly said to begin, the period when the sculptors, masters at last of the technique of their art, and fully able to express their ideas, produced at Athens and elsewhere the works which were ever afterwards regarded as their highest achievements. The earlier group of these, the monuments of the fifty years from 450 to 400 B.C., will form the subject of the next lecture.

LECTURE III

THE GREAT AGE: PHIDIAS AND POLYCLITUS

Between the middle of the fifth century and the death of Alexander in 323 B.C., Greek sculpture attained its highest development, and to these one hundred and twenty-five years, roughly, the name "the great age" is commonly given by modern critics. It is customary, further, to divide the great age into halves, at about the year 400 B.C., since, as we shall see, there are considerable differences between the products of the fifth century and those of the fourth. It is the monuments of the first half of the great age, the years between 450 and 400, that we shall consider in the present lecture.

During most of these fifty years, Athens was the leading state of Greece, both in a political and in an artistic sense. The most important political leader was the famous Pericles, and the years which we are to review are often called the Periclean age. It was Pericles who was largely responsible for the adornment of Athens with many magnificent buildings, which were the wonder of later generations, and which, even in their ruin, make the Acropolis of Athens a place of pilgrimage in modern times. All the building operations of Pericles, if we may believe Plutarch, were under the supervision of the great sculptor Phidias, who stands out as the most prominent figure in the Attic school of the fifth century. At the same time, in Argos, the sculptor Polyclitus was the leader of another school, which continued the traditions of the Dorian art of the Peloponnesus, and was second only to the Attic school in fame.

Time has dealt harshly with the works of these great artists. No certain original from the hand of either is preserved, and we

are forced to depend on Roman copies. For Phidias, this is particularly unfortunate. The only work of his of which we have a copy that is certain is his colossal gold and ivory Athena, which was set up in the Parthenon and came to be called the Athena Parthenos. But the one fairly complete copy of this, a statuette some forty inches high, now in the National Museum at Athens (Fig. 51), is a very poor and mechanical work; it gives many details of the great figure, but fails utterly to convey the impression of majesty and power which undoubtedly was produced by the original. But though the personal style of Phidias is hard to define, the writers of antiquity sufficiently attest his fame and show that it was based principally on his success in embodying in gold and ivory, in bronze, and in marble, the Greek conceptions of the gods. It is very noticeable that in the list of his works that can be drawn up from ancient writers, there are hardly any purely human figures. Most of his statues were representations of the great gods of Olympus, and it is his acknowledged success in this field which justifies his claim to rank as the greatest sculptor that Greece produced.

FIG. 51. ATHENA PARTHENOS
National Museum, Athens (Photograph by Boissonas)

In the case of Polyclitus, we are somewhat more fortunate. Numerous copies have preserved the appearance of three famous works of his: the Doryphorus, or Spear-bearer, a powerful athletic figure, posed as if he were walking slowly forward or coming to rest after walking (Fig. 52); the Diadumenus, an

FIG. 52. DORYPHORUS
Naples

FIG. 53. DIADUMENUS
National Museum. Athens (Photograph by Boissonas)

FIG. 54. AMAZON
Berlin. (Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, pl. 348)

COPIES OF THREE STATUES BY POLYCLITUS

athlete binding a fillet about his hair (Fig. 53); and an Amazon, whose sturdy proportions reveal the same ideal as the two male figures (Fig. 54). From literary notices of Polyclitus, it appears that he was essentially a theorist and a scholar, much interested in the establishment of ideal proportions for the human figure. On this subject he is said to have written a treatise called the *Canon*, or *Rule*, and later to have illustrated his theory by modelling a statue according to the principles he had laid down. Many believe that the Doryphorus is the very statue in question, and it is interesting that many of the principal dimensions of the Doryphorus are multiples of a common measure. In any case, it is clear that Polyclitus was an artist of very different tendencies from Phidias, an artist in whom the Peloponnesian schools, with their interest in athletic figures and the observance of strict rules, find their highest expression.

With the less prominent sculptors of the fifth century, conditions are much the same as in the case of the two great men. Many sculptors of this time are mentioned by ancient writers, some as pupils of Phidias or Polyclitus, others with no indication of their school connections. In a few cases, a copy, or a fragment of some original work, gives us a hint as to style and general tendencies. One case of this sort I shall discuss later in the present lecture. But with the exception of Polyclitus, the problem of determining the style of individual artists of this period is beset with difficulties, and has led to almost interminable discussions.

Much more satisfactory, as evidence for the ideals of the age, are the decorative sculptures from the great temples of the fifth century, of which, fortunately, considerable portions have survived. Mutilated though they often are, they are at least originals, and therefore of the highest value. The sculptures of the Parthenon, which was begun in 447 and finished in 432, are gen-

erally believed to reflect the style of Phidias, though there are critics who deny this connection. They certainly show the qualities which we suspect to be those of Phidias — figures strongly idealized, both in the treatment of the nude and the treatment of the drapery, powerful and dignified, with an air of unperturbed serenity, worthy embodiments of the poets' conception

Fig. 55. "THESEUS" FROM THE EASTERN PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON
British Museum. (Photograph by Mansell)

of the "blessed gods who live forever." In the reclining god from the eastern pediment, for instance, usually called Theseus (Fig. 55), the quiet pose is very noticeable, as well as the large modelling of the muscles, in which all lesser details are omitted. The same suggestion is conveyed by the finest figures that have survived from this pediment, the so-called Three Fates (Fig. 56), where the sturdy forms and the broad treatment of the drapery are noteworthy, and by the assembled gods and goddesses of the frieze (Fig. 57). Even the fighting Lapiths of the

FIG. 56. "THREE FATES" FROM THE EASTERN PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON
British Museum. (Photograph by Mansell)

FIG. 57. POSEIDON, DIONYSUS, AND HESTIA (?) FROM THE EASTERN FRIEZE OF THE PARTHENON
Acropolis Museum, Athens

FIG. 58. METOPE FROM THE PARTHENON
British Museum. (Photograph by Mansell)

FIG. 59. HORSEMEN FROM THE NORTH FRIEZE OF THE PARTHENON
British Museum. (Photograph by Mansell)

metopes are modelled with marked restraint (Fig. 58), and the horsemen of the frieze (Fig. 59), though they were suggested by the Athenian cavalry in the great Panathenaic procession, are clearly raised above the level of mere humanity and made to symbolize the youth of Athens as the embodiment of all that was best and noblest in the Athenian state. Except in some of the metopes, these sculptures show no traces of archaic constraint, but are carved with the utmost ease and skill. For the most part, the sculptors of this age, though they constantly represented the male figure nude, represented the female figure under heavy drapery, and devoted much attention to the working out of pleasing lines for the robes, eliminating lesser folds and minor details, and emphasizing only leading lines and important masses. Towards the end of the fifth century, however, there appears a tendency to the use of thinner drapery, revealing the form underneath. The finest example is the familiar Victory tying her Sandal from the balustrade of the Temple of the Wingless Victory (Fig. 60). The lightly clad figures of that monument foreshadow the development of the nude female figure, which did not become a common type in sculpture until the fourth century, though it is found occasionally on monuments of an earlier date, as we saw it on the Ludovisi Throne (Fig. 47).

FIG. 60. VICTORY TYING HER SANDAL
Acropolis Museum, Athens. (Photograph by Boissonas)

In American collections, this period is represented by a considerable number of works, and I shall begin with those that

show the influence of the great masters. Among these, the most important, unquestionably, is a large marble head in the Boston Museum (Fig. 61), which is the closest reflection yet discovered of the most famous of the works of Phidias, his gold and ivory Olympian Zeus. The original statue, set up in the temple of Zeus at Olympia, was universally regarded as the masterpiece of the great Attic sculptor. It is regularly included in the familiar list of the seven wonders of the ancient world, and it is extravagantly praised by the writers of later antiquity. Pausanias gives us a long description of the statue, from which it appears that the god was seated on an elaborate throne, with a footstool under his feet, holding in his right hand a life-size figure of Victory, and resting his left upon a sceptre. Not only ivory and gold, but also ebony and precious stones were employed as materials, and the color effect of the whole must have been most brilliant. Every available space, further, was decorated with figures in the round and in relief, including a pedestal on which the whole was set. Of the general effect of the statue and of the appearance of the head we gain some idea from coins of the Roman period. Critics, naturally, have tried to find copies of so famous a statue, but as yet without success, so far as the complete figure is concerned; and the numerous heads of Zeus that have been preserved show, in general, quite a different type, with almost mane-like masses of hair enframing the face. The Boston head, however, is so similar in many details to the head on the coins that there can be no doubt of its close relation to the Olympian Zeus. It has the same broad and simple modelling of the forehead, the same straight-falling beard and hair. Especially since the nose and the damaged upper lip have been restored on lines suggested by the coin type, the similarity of the two heads in profile view is very striking. Of course it is arguing in a circle to restore the nose on the lines of the coin, and then

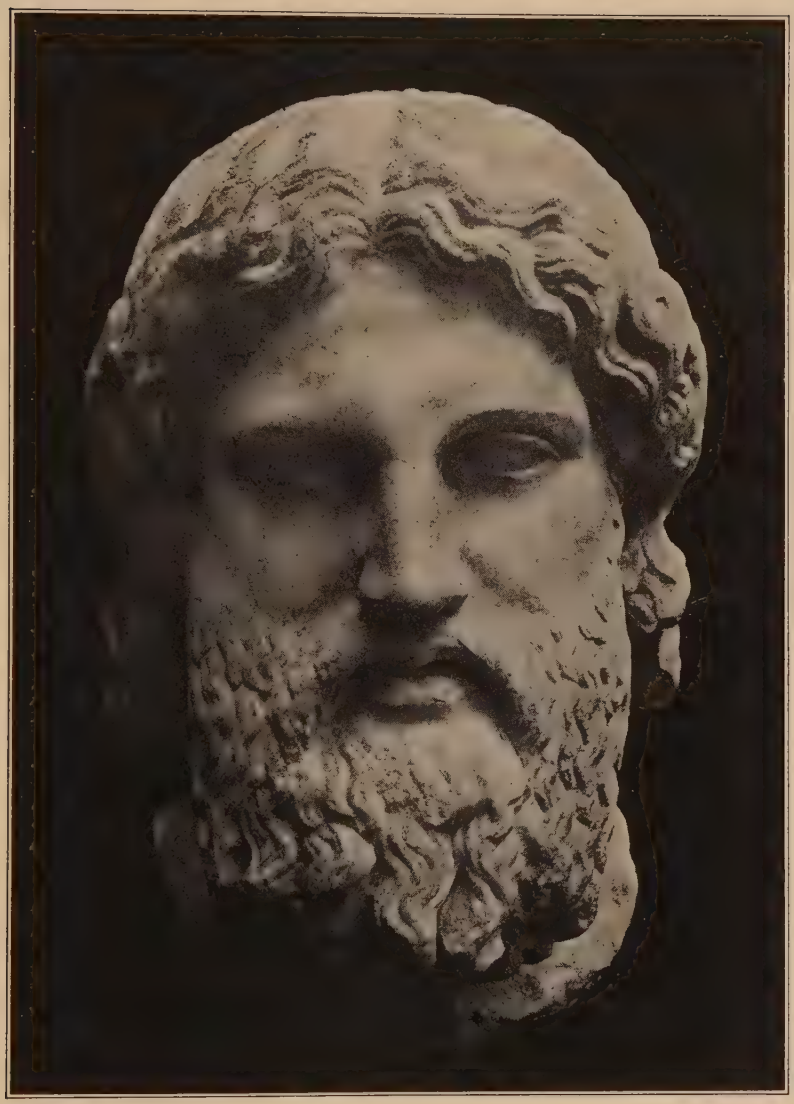


FIG. 61. HEAD OF ZEUS
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

call attention to its resemblance to the coin. But if we neglect the nose altogether, the lines of the hair, the forehead, and the beard correspond exactly, and leave no doubt that the maker of the Boston head was inspired, directly or indirectly, by the great statue at Olympia. One technical detail, also, furnishes what has always seemed to me to be a strong argument. In the Boston head, the eyes are curiously sloped back, so that they do not seem natural unless they are looked at from below, at a sharp angle. The Olympian statue was some forty feet high, and as it stood in the temple, must always have been seen at a sharp angle, so that we are justified in arguing that even in this small detail, the marble head imitates the gold and ivory original. There is only one respect in which it may be suspected that the sculptor modified the Phidian statue. The Greek writers suggest that the expression of the Olympian Zeus was one of power, tempered by kindness, and Strabo tells a story which points in the same direction. This is that Phidias was asked by his assistant, Panainos, what model he would choose for the statue, and replied by quoting the lines of Homer where the poet describes the father of gods and men as he grants the prayer of Thetis:

> Thus spake the son of Chronos and nodded with his dark brows; and the ambrosial locks fell forward from the head of the king, and he made great Olympus shake.

Such a story certainly could not have gained currency unless the expression of the statue suggested kindness, as well as majesty. In the marble head, the expression of kindness is certainly more marked than the expression of divine power, and one cannot but suspect that the sculptor has overemphasized the kindly aspect of the original. This would be quite in accordance with the spirit of the fourth century, the time to which, to

judge from the workmanship, our head should be assigned. But except in this one point, the head undoubtedly reflects the greatest of the works of Phidias, and suggests the leading qualities of his style, its simplicity and dignity, its neglect of minor details, and emphasis on what is essential.

The style of Polyclitus, the great contemporary of Phidias, is represented in this country by several monuments. The most

FIG. 62. ATHLETE
Farnsworth Museum, Wellesley

FIG. 63. HEAD OF DORYPHORUS
Naples

impressive is a figure in the Farnsworth Museum of Art at Wellesley College, a Roman copy of a statue of an athlete (Fig. 62). This exhibits most of the striking qualities of Polyclitan works, the sturdy form, the modelling of the muscles in large, well-defined masses, the squarish type of head, with the forehead divided horizontally, hair lying close to the skull in irregular locks, and slightly opened lips, producing the effect often called the "Polyclitan pout." How close the resemblance is can be seen by comparing a copy of the head of the Doryphorus now in Naples (Fig. 63). That the Wellesley statue reproduces a well-

known figure is proved by the existence of parts of at least a dozen other copies, some of them torsos, some only heads. Considerable discussion has been caused by the fact that in the only two cases in which a head and a torso of this type are associated — in the Wellesley statue and a statue in Rome — the head has been broken off and then reset, with some restoration of the neck. In both cases, however, the connection of head and torso seems assured. The appearance of the original cannot be surely

FIG. 64. HEAD OF AN ATHLETE
Metropolitan Museum, New York

FIG. 65. HEAD FROM A STATUE OF HERMES
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

determined, because, in all the copies, the hands are missing. But the swelling muscles of the left shoulder, and the way in which the left arm was drawn back and evidently bent, suggest that the left hand held a considerable weight, perhaps a discus. In some respects, the statue differs slightly from the Doryphorus, especially in details of the head. This tapers somewhat towards the chin, and shows rather greater variety and delicacy in the treatment of the hair than the more famous statue. But these differences do not seem to me to be great enough to force us to attribute the original to a pupil of Polyclitus, rather than to the master. The number of the copies is a strong argument in

favor of Polyclitus himself, and it seems most probable that the original was a comparatively late work of the great sculptor. A head in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 64) apparently comes from another copy of the same statue.

Closer to the type of the Doryphorus is a head in the Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 65), which, with its square jaw and heavy eyelids, gives an excellent idea of the Polyclitan canon. There are

FIG. 66. TORSO OF POLYCLITAN STYLE
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

FIG. 67. HEAD FROM A STATUE OF AN AMAZON
Rhode Island School of Design, Providence

several copies of the complete figure with which this head was associated, and these show that the original was a statue of Hermes. The very definite modelling of the surface and the sharp, crisp rendering of details in the eyes and the hair suggest that this is a close copy of a bronze, much closer, in fact, than is common in marble copies of bronze originals. This point, as well as the close resemblance, can be emphasized by comparing the Boston head also with the bronze head in Naples (Fig. 63).

Another example of the Polyclitan manner in the Museum of Fine Arts is a torso in marble — a Roman copy — in which the pose and the modelling in large masses certainly suggest the Argive master (Fig. 66). Although the action is uncertain and the type is not a common one, there can be little doubt that the figure reproduces closely some statue by Polyclitus or one of his immediate followers.

The Polyclitan ideal for female figures is well shown by a head in the Rhode Island School of Design at Providence (Fig. 67), from an excellent Roman copy of the Polyclitan Amazon (Fig. 54).

Among works in which the influence of Polyclitus can be seen, one of the best-known is a figure of a boy leaning on a pillar, of which there is an excellent example in the Fogg Museum in Cambridge (Fig. 68). The pillar in this case is lost, but other examples regularly have it. An earlier generation named the figure Narcissus, in the belief that it represented the boy who fell in love with his own image as he gazed into a pool. This rather sentimental interpretation finds little warrant in the ideals which inspired the artists of the fifth century, and has been very generally rejected by modern writers. Among more recent suggestions, that of Adonis has met with some favor, but the name "Narcissus" is still largely retained as a convenient designation for the type, partly because it is familiar and partly because the statue in itself gives us no real evidence as to its meaning. It has been conjectured that the figure owed its popularity in later antiquity to its use as a grave-monument, for which the suggestion of sadness conveyed by the bent head and the lowered gaze rendered it appropriate. However that may be, the statue was evidently a great favorite. Numerous copies of it exist, and among these, the Fogg Museum example is one of the best. The Polyclitan traits are obvious. There is the same treatment of

the muscles, the same sharp demarcation of the outline of the ribs, the same flat treatment of the locks of hair as in other works of this sculptor. Over the centre of the forehead, the hair is treated in a series of short locks on either side of a parting, an arrangement found in many copies of Polyclitan statues. But

FIG. 68. "NARCISSUS"
Fogg Museum, Cambridge

FIG. 69. FRAGMENT OF A METOPE FROM THE TEMPLE OF HERA
National Museum, Athens. (Waldstein, *The Argive Heraeum*, I, pl. 34)

some features suggest another influence than that of the Argive master. The face tapers decidedly towards the chin, the outlines of the muscles are not very strongly accentuated; in fact, the whole treatment is somewhat softer in effect than we should expect in the work of Polyclitus himself. For all these reasons, the author of the prototype has been thought in recent years to be a pupil of Polyclitus who was influenced by Attic ideas, and the original has usually been dated late in the fifth century. All this is highly probable, for certain original works of the Argive school, notably the decorative sculptures of the famous temple of Hera near Argos, show similar influences at work upon the

younger generation of Argive sculptors. Many fragments of the decoration of the temple were recovered in the nineties of the last century in excavations carried out at the Heraeum by the American School at Athens, and one of them, now in the Athens Museum, shows in the torso of a Greek warrior in

FIG. 70. TORSO OF THE "NARCISSUS" TYPE
Metropolitan Museum, New York

FIG. 71. PORTRAIT OF PERICLES
British Museum
(Photograph by Mansell)

battle (Fig. 69) precisely the same departures from the Polyclitan canon as the figures of the "Narcissus" type.

A variant of this type is in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 70). In this the modelling is even softer than in the Fogg Museum copy, though we can still see the influence of the Polyclitan ideal in the large surfaces of the muscles and the prominent outline of the ribs. This figure is further interesting from the fact that the relations of the two sides of the body are exactly the opposite from those of the common type. Usually, as in the Fogg Museum example, the weight rests on the right leg. Here the weight is on the left leg, and the relations through-

out the torso are completely reversed, so that the statue is a reflection, rather than a copy, of the fifth century original.

Of the less famous masters of the fifth century, only one, so far as I know, is represented in our American collections. This is Cresilas, a Cretan by birth, but an Athenian by training, who must have won considerable fame, since he was the author of a portrait of the great Pericles, set up on the Acropolis. Five

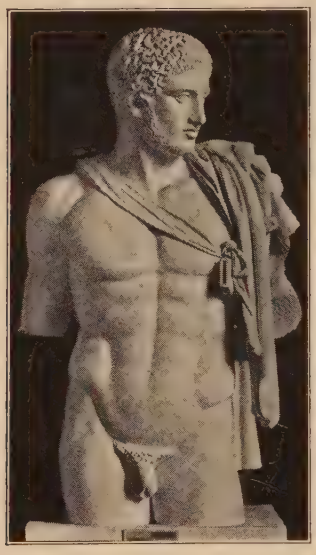


FIG. 72. DIOMED
Munich. (Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, pl. 128; from a cast)

FIG. 73. HEAD OF DIOMED
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

copies of this portrait have been preserved, the best of which is in the British Museum (Fig. 71). Using this as a starting point, modern writers have attributed to Cresilas a considerable body of work, and have made him one of the most definite personalities among the lesser men of his age. Among these attributed works, one of the most certain is a representation of the hero Diomed carrying off the famous Palladium of Troy, an exploit which Diomed was believed to have performed with the aid of

Ulysses during the siege of Troy. Several copies of this work are in existence, all much restored. Figure 72 shows an example in Munich with the restorations removed. The basis for the attribution of this type to Cresilas is its close similarity in details to the head of Pericles, especially the long, heavy-lidded eyes, with marked tear ducts, the method of representing the beard in regular curls, the marking off of the brow from the nose by two vertical grooves. A decidedly individual character is given to the head by the cut of the beard, and by the flattened ear,

FIG. 74. HEAD OF AN ATHLETE
Petworth (Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik*, pl. 16)

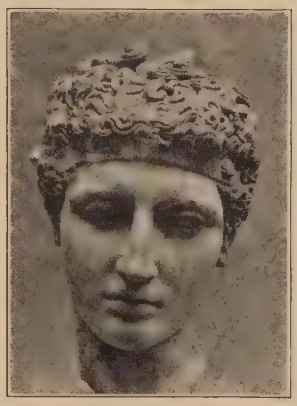


FIG. 75. HEAD OF AN ATHLETE
Metropolitan Museum, New York

which is usually explained as characteristic of boxers, and intended, in this ideal statue, to emphasize the character of Diomed as a sturdy fighter. All these traits are found in a head in the Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 73). This undoubtedly comes from another copy of the Diomed, and gives us an excellent example of the style of Cresilas.

Another work which has been attributed to Cresilas is a head of an athlete, best represented by an example in the collection of Lord Leconfield at Petworth, England (Fig. 74). The interpretation as an athlete is based in this case on the fillet in the hair.

Four other copies show that the original was a work of some fame, and one of these, which was purchased by the Metropolitan Museum in 1911 (Fig. 75), is of even finer quality than the Leconfield head. That the original was a work of the fifth century can hardly be doubted, in view of the marked idealization, the regularity of the features, and the elimination of all unnecessary details. The attribution to Cresilas is somewhat less certain than that of the Diomed, but the long, thick-lidded eyes, with pronounced tear ducts, at least furnish a good argument. The hair, with its greater projection and more detailed treatment, makes it probable that the athlete was made rather later in the artist's career than the Pericles.

Fig. 76. LEDA AND THE SWAN
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

All these works may be connected with famous names. In other cases no such relationship can be made out. One of the most interesting marbles in the Museum of Fine Arts, in spite of its damaged condition, is a representation of Leda and the swan (Fig. 76). The story, first made popular by Euripides, is that to win the love of Leda, Zeus transformed himself into a swan, and when he was pursued by an eagle, fled to her for protection. This is evidently the moment that is here portrayed. Leda has sprung forward to the defense of the swan, which she clasps with her right arm. Her left arm was raised, and held up her robe as a further protection against the pursuing eagle. Her robe is still blown violently back against her left leg from the rapidity of her impulsive movement, her right leg was bent at the knee.

Through the violence of her action, her robe has become unfastened at the right shoulder, so that her whole right side is uncovered, and it seems clear that the contrast between the nude and the draped portions of the figure was a problem in which the designer was greatly interested. The partial nudity supplies one of the best arguments for the date. I have mentioned the fact that nude female figures are rare in the fifth cen-

Fig. 77. TORSO OF A GOD (ZEUS?)
Metropolitan Museum, New York

Fig. 78. TORSO OF A BOY
Metropolitan Museum, New York

tury, and only became common in the fourth. This figure, therefore, is, so to speak, transitional from one period to the other. But the drapery, with its heavy folds and sweeping lines, is quite in the spirit of the fifth century. We are probably safe, therefore, in assigning the Leda to the last years of this century, the period when the balustrade of the Wingless Victory (Fig. 60), to which it presents some striking similarities, was carved. The figure was planned to be seen from one point of view only, for the left side is rather carelessly designed and executed. Perhaps, as has been suggested, it had originally some sort of archi-

tectural setting. At some later time, probably in the period of the Renaissance, it was used as a fountain, a purpose for which it seems particularly ill-fitted. But the cutting for a pipe, by which water was conducted to the bill of the swan, cannot be explained in any other way.

A number of other works, which, in our present ignorance, cannot be associated with any sculptor, may be mentioned more briefly. A fragmentary seated figure in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 77) displays in its large and simple modelling the

Fig. 79. FRAGMENT OF A FEMALE FIGURE
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

characteristic quality of fifth-century sculpture, and in spite of its small scale — it is about half life-size — seems to be one of the older deities, perhaps Zeus. A torso of a boy in the same collection (Fig. 78) has similar qualities of broad yet accurate modelling, and, as it evidently comes from a figure in violent action, may be one of the sons of Niobe, fleeing from the shafts of Apollo, as the authorities of the Metropolitan have suggested. A fragment in the Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 79), though it is on a very small scale, is an excellent example of the careful workmanship and broad treatment which are found even in small

figures during this period. The simple dignity of fifth-century conceptions of the gods is well reflected in a head from a herm recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 80). The slight suggestion of archaism in the regular lines of the hair and the beard is common in these heads designed to be set up on rectangular pillars, and adds much to their charm. The type is appropriate both to Zeus and to Dionysus, and in the absence of all attributes except the fillet in the hair, there is no certain means of deciding between the two possibilities. A helmeted head con-

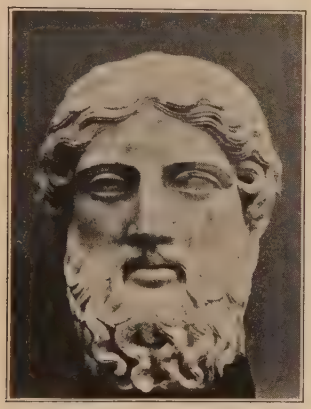


FIG. 80. HEAD FROM A HERM
Metropolitan Museum, New York

FIG. 81. HEAD OF ARES (?)
Fogg Museum, Cambridge

siderably larger than life-size in the Fogg Museum (Fig. 81) is very similar in quality to the sculptures of the Parthenon. The marked idealization and the large scale suggest that the subject is the war god Ares, rather than a hero or a human warrior.

Fifth-century relief is as yet but little represented in our collections. In fact, I can cite only three examples, one in the Museum of Fine Arts, the others in the Metropolitan. All are grave-monuments of the usual type, on which, following the custom of the archaic time, the occupant of the tomb is represented in some simple act of daily life. The Boston example

shows a woman looking into a mirror (Fig. 82). Though the work of a sculptor of no great skill, it clearly reveals, in the sweeping lines of the drapery and the simple carving of the face, the influence of the great decorative reliefs of the Attic school. The architectural frame, with its imitation of a pediment supported by pilasters, is an early instance of a form which is often used in the more elaborate grave-monuments of the succeeding age. One of the New York reliefs, with its simpler setting, ad-

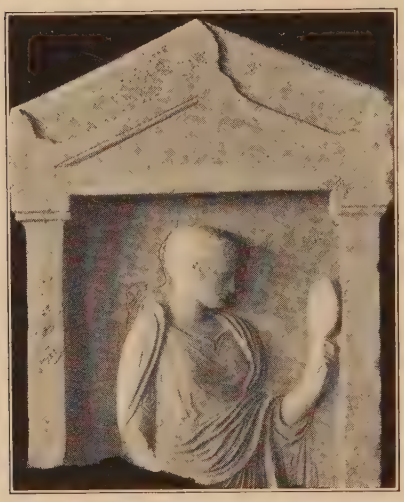


FIG. 82. ATTIC GRAVESTONE
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

FIG. 83. ATTIC GRAVESTONE
Metropolitan Museum, New York

heres more closely to the archaic form (Fig. 83). The girl who is here represented holds in one hand a pomegranate, in the other a bag. Though the face is badly injured and part of the monument is covered with a hard incrustation, the similarities to the figures on the frieze of the Parthenon are sufficiently obvious. The drapery is treated in the same broad and simple manner, and even in the pose of the figure, there is a striking resemblance to the maidens who lead the Panathenaic procession (Fig. 84). The New York stele, therefore, is surely to be assigned to the

Attic school of the fifth century, and one suspects that the maker may have been one of the sculptors employed on the great temple of Athena.

The same suggestion comes to mind before the other grave-monument in the New York Museum (Fig. 85), which represents a seated woman holding up an oil-flask. The simple but very effective drapery at once recalls the goddesses of the east-

Fig. 84. MAIDENS FROM THE EASTERN FRIEZE OF THE PARTHENON
British Museum. (Photograph by Mansell)

ern pediment of the Parthenon (Fig. 56), and again suggests a sculptor trained by Phidias, or, at least, completely dominated by the ideals of the Phidian school. If it were not for the fact that it is found on a grave-monument, and therefore presumably is an idealized portrait of a mortal, one might easily interpret the figure as one of the Olympians. It is one of the best examples of that idealizing tendency which is so strongly marked in the Attic school of the fifth century.

Taken together, these statues and reliefs show well the spirit of fifth-century sculpture. It was a time when the great doctrine of "moderation in all things," which is so constantly emphasized by the Greek poets and philosophers and was so rarely attained, apparently, in Greek political life, was clearly a leading principle. For single figures, simple and quiet poses, with

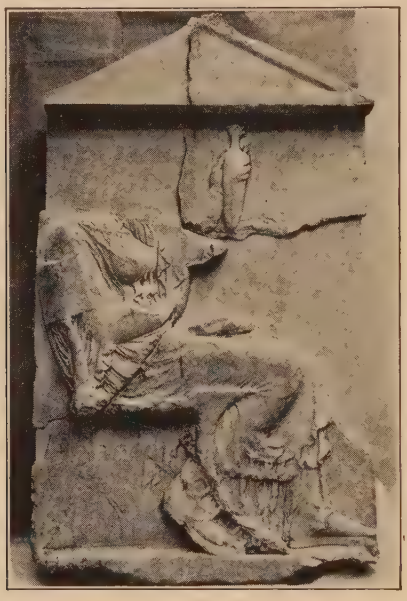


FIG. 85. ATTIC GRAVESTONE
Metropolitan Museum, New York

one leg firm and the other bent, were the favorites; and even in reliefs, where violent action is more often represented, there is commonly a restraint and a suggestion of reserve force which reflect the same ideal. The faces in fifth-century works usually portray no very strong feeling. They are calm and impassive, as of beings far removed from the storm and stress of human existence. Everywhere the tendency to idealize is evident, in the smooth and gently rounded masses of the muscles, in the

long, sweeping lines of the drapery. This was the age when Greek idealism, in art, at least, reached its highest level.

That this high level was not long maintained need not surprise us. The marvel is, perhaps, that it was held so long as it was. Even before the end of the fifth century, there are hints in the painted vases, in engraved gems, and even to a slight extent in statues and reliefs, of the incoming of a new spirit, which aimed at delicacy and grace rather than at serenity and calm remoteness; and in the fourth century, this spirit became dominant in sculpture, as well as in the lesser arts. With the fourth century, therefore, begins what is commonly called the second half of the great age.

LECTURE IV

THE GREAT AGE: PRAXITELES AND SCOPAS

The second half of the great age is often called, for convenience, the Fourth Century. The dates by which the period is commonly defined are 400 and 323 B.C., the latter the year of the death of Alexander the Great. During this period of slightly more than seventy-five years, the grand style of the Periclean Age underwent a gradual modification, so that the sculpture of the fourth century, although fully equal in technical excellence to that of earlier times, is different from it in many respects.

For these differences the political events of the last years of the fifth century were largely responsible, especially the Peloponnesian War. Beginning in 431 as a struggle between Athens and Sparta and their allies, this war ultimately involved most of the states of Greece and resulted in a permanent weakening of their effective forces. It has sometimes been suggested that the downfall of Greek civilization was due primarily to the loss of men and the destruction of property occasioned by the war, and undoubtedly this is to be reckoned among the causes of the final ruin of Greece. Even more serious than the loss of men and resources, however, was the loss of public spirit. During the fifth century, the citizen, even in the most democratic of the Greek communities, lived primarily for the state. In the fourth century, he tended more and more to live for himself, to consider himself more as an individual, less as a member of the body politic. To this result the speculations of the philosophers, made popular through the plays of Euripides, no doubt contributed, but the growth of individualism, which is very marked during the fourth century, was principally due to the break-

up of earlier conditions brought about by the Peloponnesian War.

The political history of the fourth century itself tended to exaggerate this effect. The first part of the century was a time of constant bickerings and petty quarrels among the Greek cities, and later, from 357 on, all the states became more or less involved in the intrigues by which Philip of Macedon at last succeeded in bringing the country under Macedonian control.

All these changes, naturally, exercised an influence on the development of art. The impoverishment of the cities made them unable to undertake great building operations such as were so successfully carried through in the fifth century, and on the other hand, the increasing luxury in private life, which accompanied the growth of individualism and the loss of civic pride, brought it about that sculptors were more and more called upon to work for private citizens, to create statues and reliefs for the decoration of houses and for dedication at the shrines of the gods, grave-monuments, and portraits. Thus it came about that the art of the fourth century has a more intimate and personal character than that of earlier days. The gods descend from Olympus and become more like ordinary men and women, losing much of their austerity and grandeur. The expression of emotion, also, greatly interested the men of the fourth century, and much of the more individual effect of fourth-century statues is due to the sculptors' successful attempts to suggest more exactly the feelings and the character of their subjects.

Among these sculptors three stand out with special prominence: Praxiteles, Scopas, and Lysippus. Of the three, Praxiteles is perhaps the most famous. He was an Athenian, the leader in this period of what is often called the younger Attic school, and in modern times he occupies a unique position in the

history of Greek sculpture as the only great artist from whose hand we have a certain original work. This is the Hermes with the young Dionysus, found at Olympia in 1877 (Fig. 86). Hermes is here represented as he carries the baby Dionysus to the Nymphs, by whom, according to tradition, he was brought up. The god has stopped to rest by the way. He has thrown his

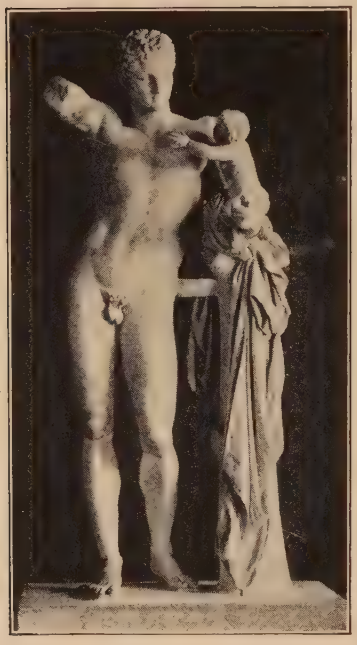


FIG. 86. HERMES WITH THE YOUNG DIONYSUS
Olympia

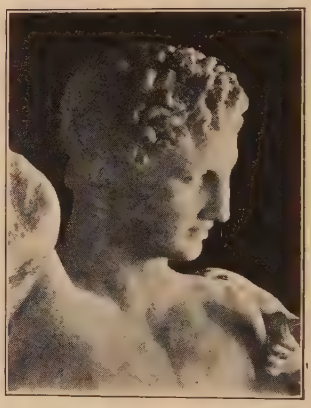


FIG. 87. HEAD OF HERMES
Olympia

cloak over a tree-stump and now leans carelessly upon it. His eyes gaze off into the distance, and with his right hand he held up some object, perhaps a bunch of grapes, towards which the child eagerly stretches out his arms. The differences between this statue and the products of the fifth century are many. The striving for gracefulness is very obvious, both in the pose of the figure and in its somewhat slenderer proportions. The treat-

ment of the nude is more detailed; the muscles are represented by smaller surfaces, which pass into one another by very gradual transitions. Most noticeable of all is the tendency in the head towards more exact details and greater expressiveness (Fig. 87). The forehead no longer presents a simple curve, but is treated with great variety, so as to show the bony structure;

FIG. 88. APHRODITE OF CNIDUS
Vatican. (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, VIII, 1887, pl. 80; from a cast)

FIG. 89. THE "MARBLE FAUN"
Capitoline Museum, Rome

the face tapers towards the chin; the cheeks are not so full and round as in works of the earlier time; the lips are delicately curved into a quiet smile; and the greatest change of all appears in the eyes, which are long and narrow, with the lower lid thinned out and slightly drawn up over the eyeball, so as to produce the expression of dreamy contemplation which is one of the marked traits of Praxitelean style. It is noticeable that the

child is treated as a mere accessory of the larger figure. The forms are not really those of childhood, and the face is merely sketched, not carefully worked out.

Other works of Praxiteles, preserved only in copies, show the same tendencies as the Hermes, though much inevitably is lost through the intervention of the copyist. The most famous of them are the Aphrodite of Cnidus, here represented in a cast from a poor copy in the Vatican, with some of the many restorations removed (Fig. 88), and the Satyr, preserved in numerous copies, of which the best known is the familiar statue in Rome called the Marble Faun (Fig. 89). Both of these, though inferior in execution to the Hermes, clearly express similar ideals, revealing a sculptor whose aim was to express not so much the dignity and the grandeur of the gods of the Greek pantheon as their beauty and grace.

Of Scopas I shall speak at greater length later in this lecture. Here it is enough to say that he forms a sort of foil to Praxiteles, since he too aimed at greater expressiveness, but represented, in general, figures under stress of violent emotion (see Figs. 96–106), as different as possible from the joyous creatures of the Attic master. There is no evidence that Scopas was connected with any particular school. He was by birth an Ionian of the island of Paros, but he was a wandering artist. His early years were spent, apparently, in the Peloponnesus, and we can perhaps see the influence of the Polyclitan canon in the square head which is typical of his style; later in life he seems to have worked in Athens; and towards the middle of the fourth century, when he must have been well along in years, he was in Asia Minor, engaged in decorating the new temple of Artemis at Ephesus and the famous Mausoleum at Halicarnassus.

The third of the great men, Lysippus, was a Peloponnesian, a native of Sicyon. Here, not far from Argos, he founded a school

which carried on the traditions of Peloponnesian art and was, in a sense, the successor of the Polyclitan school of the fifth century. Lysippus and his pupils devoted themselves largely to athletic figures, but modified the older types in many ways. The most striking of their innovations was the introduction of a new canon of proportions. The character of this can be seen in the

FIG. 90. APOXYOMENUS
Vatican

FIG. 91. TORSO OF DIONYSUS
Rhode Island School of Design, Providence

most famous of Lysippus's works, the Apoxyomenus, or Athlete scraping himself, of which an excellent copy is preserved in the Vatican (Fig. 90). In accordance with the general tendencies of fourth-century art, the Lysippic canon demanded a slenderer figure than the Polyclitan, with muscles lying closer to the bones, resulting in a figure altogether lighter and springier in effect. The head of this statue, also, though it suggests no such

strong feeling as Scopasian heads, betrays something of the fourth-century tendency towards expressiveness in its careful study of the effects of physical weariness, especially in the eyes.

Even this small number of examples will serve to show that the whole tendency of fourth-century art was towards a more human and a more individual conception of the figure, and that the appeal which it makes to a modern observer is much more

FIG. 92. HEAD OF AN ATHLETE
Metropolitan Museum, New York

direct than that of the severer creations of the fifth century. We are not surprised, therefore, to find this period comparatively well represented in American collections.

As examples of the manner of Praxiteles we have a fragmentary torso of the young Dionysus in the Rhode Island School of Design at Providence and four heads, one in the Metropolitan Museum, the other three in the Museum of Fine Arts. The torso (Fig. 91), in spite of its mutilation, shows many of the characteristic traits of Praxitelean style. The pose is very similar to that of the Hermes (Fig. 86), with the weight on the right foot and a heavy support on the left side, so that the central line

of the body presents a sharp curvature. The muscles are treated in a series of gently rounded surfaces, which pass into one another by subtle gradations. The conception of the god as decidedly youthful is one that is found in several of the works of Praxiteles and is in accordance with the fondness of this master and his school for representations of youthful grace and beauty. The finish of the marble, too, though it lacks the wonderful subtlety of the Hermes, reveals the hand of a skilful sculptor and justifies us in attributing the torso to a close follower of the great master.

Fig. 93. HEAD OF APHRODITE
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

The head in New York (Fig. 92) seems to have come from a statue and to have been trimmed into the form of a bust by some modern owner. It is probable that the statue was that of an athlete, since the ear presents the flattened form which we noted in the last lecture as a characteristic mark of athletic figures. The traits of Praxitelean style are especially the high skull with its curving outline, the bulge of the forehead above the nose, and the narrow eyes with the lower lid drawn up to give the suggestion of dreamy contemplation. In front view, other Praxitelean mannerisms are evident, such as the horizontal groove in the forehead, the marked emphasis on the bony structure above the outer corners of the eyes, and the length of the eyes themselves. The one trait which is very unlike the Hermes is the treatment of the hair in a series of delicate, curling locks. And it is clear, even in a reproduction, that the surface finish is not equal to that of the statue at Olympia. It is reasonable, therefore, to assign this head also to a fairly

close follower of the great sculptor, who imitated with success the salient features of the master's style, but lacked his technical skill.

The heads in Boston bring us nearer to Praxiteles. The finest of them is commonly called the Bartlett Aphrodite (Fig. 93). Here we find not only all the marked characteristics of Praxitelean style, but also a skill in the working of the marble which closely approximates the marvellous technique of the Olympian

FIG. 94. HEAD OF A GODDESS FROM CHIOS

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. (Photograph by Kennedy)

FIG. 95. HEAD OF A GODDESS (DEMETER?)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Hermes. It is not necessary to enlarge on the Praxitelean traits. They are obvious at a glance — the high, curving skull, the tapering face with slightly flattened cheeks, the long narrow eyes, the mouth with its delicate smile. What is most notable is the differentiation of texture in the smooth finish of the flesh and the slightly rough surface of the hair, the quality that most distinguishes the Hermes. The sketchy, almost impressionistic treatment is exactly that of the Praxitelean original. This head, therefore, is the work of a master who stands very close to Praxiteles, probably an immediate pupil.

The second head in the Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 94) is commonly called the Goddess from Chios, since it is said to have been found in that island and no more definite name can be given to it. M. Rodin was, I think, the first to call attention to the geometrical forms in which the head is conceived, and this point was later more fully developed by Mr. John Marshall, who pointed out that the shape of the face may almost be described as a regular ovoid surmounted by a cylinder, and that several of the unusual proportions are best explained by the assumption that they are due to a sort of mathematical theory of relationships, resulting in many marked departures from the human model. The base of the forehead is curved more than is natural, the cheek bones are neglected, the ridge of the nose is flat, and the nostrils remarkably wide. The triangular effect of the upper part of the head undoubtedly accentuates the geometrical effect of the whole, but this is due to chance, for the working of the surfaces at the sides shows that the upper part was made of a separate piece of marble, probably in the form of an elaborate veil. The modelling everywhere is very subtle, one surface passing into another by very slight gradations. The influence of the Praxitelean ideal appears especially in the eyes, which are long and narrow and have the lower lid remarkably thinned out, so much so that in certain lightings the line of the lid practically disappears. Because of this exaggeration, it is, I think, impossible to regard the head as a work of Praxiteles himself, as Mr. Marshall is inclined to do. It seems rather the work of an imitator of the great master, in whose hands the tendency to impressionism, which is undoubtedly present in Praxiteles's work, was carried much further and curiously combined with mathematical theories of form and structure.

The third head (Fig. 95) is much more damaged than the other two, but even in its mutilated state it shows the hand of

a skilful sculptor. Here too we have a prominent, triangular forehead like that of the head from Chios, long, narrow eyes with lower lids drawn up, and sketchy, impressionistic treatment of the hair. The eyes, again, like those of the Bartlett Aphrodite, are not quite symmetrical, and give the touch of individuality which is found so frequently in the art of the fourth century. For the identification of the subject we have no hint except the matronly appearance and the veil. These suggest

FIG. 96. HEADS FROM THE TEMPLE OF ATHENA ALEA AT TEGEA
National Museum, Athens. (*Antike Denkmäler*, I, pl. 35; from casts)

one of the elder deities, perhaps Demeter. It is much to be regretted that this head is so greatly damaged. One cannot help feeling that if it were better preserved, it would be as much admired as the two more perfect works.

From these five works, then, we can gain a clear impression of the style of Praxiteles and even some idea of his remarkable technique. In the case of Scopas we are in an equally fortunate position. The whole modern study of this sculptor is based on two mutilated heads from the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, recovered by French excavators in 1879 (Fig. 96). An examination of these will show that they are the work of a sculptor of

FIG. 97. MELEAGER
Fogg Museum, Cambridge

FIG. 98. MELEAGER
Vatican

FIG. 99. MELEAGER
Berlin

quite different ideas from Praxiteles. Their most marked trait is the suggestion of strong feeling, as if they came from figures under stress of violent emotion. This effect is produced especially by the eyes, which are round and wide open, with upward-directed gaze and strongly emphasized lids, deeply sunk under the eyebrows and overshadowed at the outer corners by a heavy roll of flesh. It was further suggested by the open mouths, showing the teeth, and by the dilated nostrils, which, when the heads were uninjured, must have produced an effect of heavy, labored breathing. The total effect has often been characterized as "intensity of expression." This has become almost a catch phrase among critics as a brief definition of the leading trait of Scopasian style, and is constantly appealed to in attempts to attribute statues and reliefs to this sculptor.

Among the theories proposed, one that has met with very general acceptance is that a representation of Meleager, the leader of the famous Caledonian boar hunt, of which there is a copy in the Fogg Museum at Cambridge (Fig. 97), is to be traced back to Scopas himself; and a closer study of this work will illustrate well the methods of dealing with copies and bring out the salient features of the style of Scopas. Of the copies, the best-known is in the Vatican (Fig. 98). In the head of this the Scopasian traits have been largely slurred over and lost, but we recognize in the turn of the head, the overshadowed eyes, and the open mouth considerable resemblances to the heads from Tegea. The vigorous, active pose accords well with the energetic expression and no doubt reflects the original closely, but in the boar's head and the awkward drapery, which seems to have been carved simply to produce an unusual type of support, one suspects additions made by the copyist in reproducing in marble a bronze original. This suspicion is confirmed by the Fogg Museum copy and by a third copy in Berlin (Fig. 99), where both

drapery and boar's head are lacking. There is also in the gardens of the Villa Medici in Rome a copy of the head of the Meleager, believed by some critics to come closer to the original than any of the other examples (Fig. 100). It is placed on a slender body, with which it clearly has no connection, and set up under an arbor, in a most effective position.

FIG. 100. STATUE WITH HEAD OF MELEAGER
Villa Medici, Rome

In this series of copies the Fogg Museum Meleager occupies an important place, since it probably gives a better impression of the *style* of the original than any of the others. What is most striking in this figure is the vigorous handling of the marble, amounting in places almost to harshness. There is no slurring over of details of anatomy, no softening of the expression anywhere. A comparison with the Medici head is especially in-

structive (Fig. 101). Placed beside the Fogg Museum example, the Medici head, with its full, rounded lips and its longer, narrower eyes, seems almost sentimental. In side view there is a similar contrast. In the Fogg Museum figure the deep sinking of the inner corner of the eye, the deep, irregular grooves in which the marble is cut to suggest the hair, the prominent bony structure of the skull, all produce an effect of almost brutal strength, which is lacking in the softer treatment of the Medici head. One may like the Medici head better, but if we judge by

Fig. 101. THE HEAD OF MELEAGER IN THE VILLA MEDICI AND THE HEAD OF THE STATUE IN THE FOGG MUSEUM

the heads from Tegea, it was just this vigorous treatment that was most characteristic of Scopas. Because of this quality, it has sometimes been argued that the Fogg Museum copy is a work of the fourth century, almost contemporary with the original itself. Since, however, it was found in Italy, it is more probably a product of the Roman period, but the work of a copyist of more than ordinary skill, who had the ability to reproduce closely the quality of the original.

Less closely connected with Scopas, but obviously influenced by his ideas, is the interesting figure of a boxer in the Metro-

politan Museum (Fig. 102). That this is an original work of the fourth century is shown by the delicacy of the modelling, the easy transition from one surface to the next, and the expressiveness of the face. The interpretation as a boxer is based on the swollen ears and on the action. Both hands were evidently raised to the left side of the head, as the athlete adjusted the straps which pass over the head, around the ears, and under the chin, and which were worn by boxers to protect the principal arteries and veins. The eyes are not so round and wide open as those of the heads from Tegea, but their deep setting and the upward gaze, combined with the squarish skull, show clearly the source of the sculptor's inspiration.

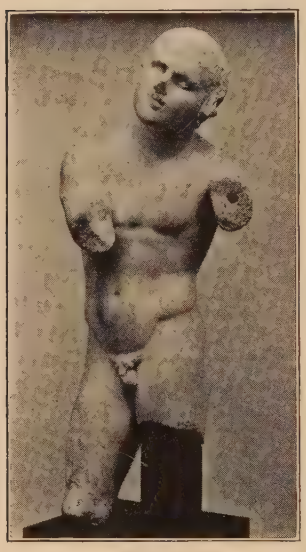


Fig. 102. BOXER
Metropolitan Museum, New York

Besides these two statues, there are in this country no less than six heads in which, in varying degrees, the influence of Scopas can be seen. Two of these, in the Fogg Museum at Cambridge, show most of the salient qualities of the master's style, but are so mutilated that we may pass over them with this brief notice. Two others, in the Museum of Fine Arts, are in better condition. One (Fig. 103) represents Heracles and is almost perfectly preserved except for the nose, which has been restored in plaster. The characteristic Scopasian traits have been considerably "toned down," and the existence of several replicas in itself suggests that this is a Roman copy. One is tempted to argue that this series of works is based on the Heracles by Scopas mentioned by Pausanias in his account of the Gymnasium at Sicyon, but the existence of other types of Hera-

cles with Scopasian qualities makes certainty impossible. The other head in the Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 104) presents an interesting problem. It represents a boy, or at least, a very young man. In some ways it shows very close similarities to the heads from Tegea, especially in the sharp turn to the right, the upward gaze, and the deeply shadowed eyes. But other qualities suggest that other influences, too, have been at work. The face tapers decidedly towards the chin, the eyes are compara-

FIG. 103. HEAD OF HERACLES
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

FIG. 104. HEAD OF A BOY
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

tively long and narrow, and the hair is sketchily rendered — traits that suggest the manner of Praxiteles. All this points to an electic sculptor, probably of the end of the fourth or the beginning of the third century, B.C.

A fifth head (Fig. 105) is again a representation of Heracles, who is identified by the lion's skin worn as a cap. It was formerly in the possession of Mrs. John Newbold Hazard, of Peacedale, R. I., and was loaned for some years to the Museum of Fine Arts. It is said to have been found near Sparta about 1904. In the modelling of the forehead and the heavy roll of flesh over the eyes Scopasian influence is clear, but other fea-

tures are again suggestive of Praxiteles, particularly the shape of the lips, the dimple in the chin, and the long, narrow shape of the eyes themselves. Here again, therefore, we are dealing with an eclectic work, which can hardly be associated directly with Scopas or his school and is probably another product of the later years of the fourth century. According to a theory recently advanced and defended with skill, the head comes from a statue of Heracles retreating after an unsuccessful fight with Hippocoön and his sons, a statue described by Pausanias in his account of a sanctuary of the hero at Sparta. Although this theory cannot be definitely proved, it gains considerable support from the upward direction of the gaze and the suggestion of anger in the eyes and the mouth.

Finally, there is in the Metropolitan Museum a head broken from a high relief, which can be assigned with certainty to the school of Scopas (Fig. 106). The outline of the head is not quite so square as that of the heads from Tegea, but all the other qualities recall the master, even to the open mouth, the distended nostrils, and the treatment of the hair as a mass of heavy locks, separated by deep, irregular grooves. It may serve, perhaps, as a fitting conclusion to our study of this master, who happens to be so well represented in our American collections.

Of the lesser sculptors of the fourth century, one, at least, can be studied in a work in America. This is Cephisodotus, the father or the elder brother of Praxiteles. The work in question is a female figure in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 107). This comes from a very good Roman copy of Cephisodotus's group representing Irene and Plutus, the goddess Peace carrying the child Wealth. A poor copy has long been recognized in a group now in Munich (Fig. 108). Considerable parts of this are restored, most of them with approximate correctness, but other

FIG. 105. HEAD OF HERACLES

Formerly in the possession of
Mrs. John Newbold Hazard

FIG. 106. HEAD FROM A RELIEF

Metropolitan Museum, New York

FIG. 107. IRENE

Metropolitan Museum, New York

FIG. 108. IRENE AND PLUTUS

Munich. (Photograph by Bruckmann)

reflections, especially a copy on a late Athenian coin, show that the attribute in the left hand of the goddess should be a cornucopia, and that her right hand rested on a sceptre. It is, perhaps, worth noting that the awkward, upward-pointing finger which disfigures so many ancient statues was a favorite device of restorers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and is practically always a sign of restoration. The original of the Irene and Plutus is generally believed to have been of bronze, and the treatment of the hair certainly favors this supposition. The work is interesting as one of the earliest allegorical groups in the history of Greek sculpture and also because of its style, which is transitional from the severer art of the fifth century to the more expressive types of the fourth. The very broad-shouldered, stocky figure of Irene and the arrangement of her drapery are reminiscent of the goddesses of the Periclean time, but in the way in which she turns her head to look at the child we see the spirit of a later day. For this reason the original is no doubt to be dated early in the fourth century. The scheme of the group is very similar to that of the Hermes and the young Dionysus, and since Cephisodotus was a member of the family of Praxiteles, one cannot help suspecting that he may have had much to do with the early training of the more famous sculptor. A comparison between the Munich figure and that in New York is interesting. The Munich copy has always been criticized for the very hard rendering of the lines of the drapery and the formality of the hair. In the New York example, though the drapery is rather formal, the lines are more pleasing and there is no suggestion of hardness. It is noticeable, too, that the proportions are considerably more slender. Both these points suggest that the New York figure is probably a better copy of the original than the Munich group, and make it easier to conceive of Cephisodotus as a master of the fourth century.

One other work which has been associated by several critics with a lesser sculptor of this period is a mounted Amazon in the Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 109). Although the figure is so fragmentary, several details show that it comes from a group representing an Amazon riding over a fallen opponent. The short chiton and the high boots sufficiently characterize the Amazon, and under the belly of the horse, part of an arm of the fallen warrior is preserved. Two dowel holes for metal braces show

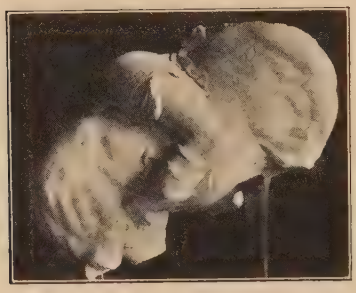


FIG. 109. MOUNTED AMAZON
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

FIG. 110. MOUNTED AMAZON
National Museum, Athens

that the group formed part of the decoration of a pediment, for pedimental figures were regularly held in place by heavy braces secured to the back wall of the gable. Now there is in the National Museum at Athens a figure very similar to the Boston fragment, which came from the pediment of the temple of Asclepius at Epidaurus in Argolis (Fig. 110). From an inscription we know that the Epidaurian figure was designed by Timotheus, a contemporary of Scopas and one of his collaborators in the decoration of the Mausoleum. The general scheme of this figure is so like that of the Boston fragment that several critics

have argued that the two are works of the same master; and some have even gone so far as to suggest that the Boston Amazon formed a part of the pediment at Epidaurus. This, however, seems impossible. The scale of the Boston Amazon is considerably larger than that of the other, and quite apart from any question of scale, it is hard to believe that a sculptor of the skill which Timotheus evidently possessed would place two figures so closely similar in pose in the same composition. This does not preclude the possibility that both figures are works of Timotheus, coming from different compositions. But there are differences in the two Amazons themselves which make the attribution difficult, to say the least. In the Amazon from Epidaurus, and in some other works that have been plausibly attributed to Timotheus, the sculptor's purpose seems to have been to make a lithe and graceful figure and to show his skill in revealing the form under the light folds of the robe. The Boston Amazon, so far as we can judge, was a much sturdier figure than the Amazon from Epidaurus, and the horse is quite different in type, deep of chest and broad of back. These are slight differences, perhaps, but they warn us against accepting too readily the attribution to Timotheus, which in recent years has had considerable vogue.

It is safest, then, to place this figure among the anonymous works of the fourth century. And to the same category we must assign some of the most interesting of our statues and reliefs. A figure of a boy in the Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 111), for example, cannot as yet be attributed to any known master. Yet it has all the qualities of an original work of the fourth century, the delicate and refined modelling, the rather sketchy treatment of the hair, the slightly unsymmetrical features, producing a characteristic touch of individuality. The statue itself is even more pleasing than it appears in a reproduction, for the Pentelic

marble has taken on the warm yellow tone which it sometimes assumes from long exposure to the weather and which adds greatly to the effect of the careful workmanship. It is probable that the statue was used as a grave-monument.

Less fine in workmanship, but interesting as an unusual type is a small figure in the Museum of Fine Arts representing Aphro-

FIG. 111. STATUE OF A BOY
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

FIG. 112. APHRODITE RIDING ON A GOOSE
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

dite riding on a goose (Fig. 112). The interpretation is based on vase-paintings, especially on a famous polychrome cup of about the middle of the fifth century. For the sculptor the suggestion of upward motion offered a difficult problem, but he has solved it fairly well in the windswept folds of the drapery and the upward gaze of the goddess; and his figure has much of the grace and human quality of so many fourth-century conceptions of divinity.

Another very interesting original is a well-preserved head in the Fogg Museum (Fig. 113). The suggestion that this comes from a statue of an athlete is based on the slightly swollen and flattened ears. The style may be characterized as marking the transition from Phidias to Praxiteles in its combination of simplicity and dignity with rather detailed modelling and striving for expression. The hair is carved as a mass of irregular locks, with notable variety in the arrangement, especially in the small locks about the forehead and the temples. In the forehead the "bar of Michelangelo" is distinctly emphasized, as well as the horizontal groove about it. Eyes and eyebrows are not quite symmetrical, and in the cheeks there is more variety than in most heads from the fifth century. But none of these new tendencies is carried very far. The asymmetry of the eyebrows and the eyes is slight, and the mouth is not remarkably expressive. The date to be assigned to such a work is clearly the early years of the fourth century. The shape of the skull, with its strongly curved outline and slightly tapering face, points to a master of the Attic school.

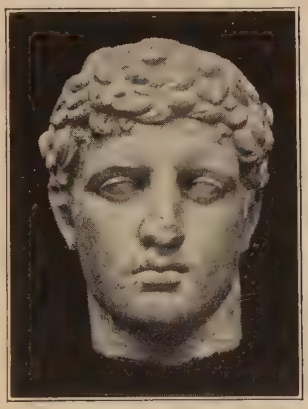


Fig. 113. HEAD OF AN ATHLETE
Fogg Museum, Cambridge

To the same category of works of the early fourth century, in which much is reminiscent of the preceding age, may be assigned a youthful head of a goddess in the Metropolitan Museum from a statue considerably larger than life (Fig. 114). Forehead and cheeks are modelled with much of the elimination of detail that appears in heads of the Periclean age, yet with somewhat more subtlety and variety of surface. The eyebrows are not quite symmetrical, the lips are curved into a delicate smile, the

hair suggests the sketchy treatment of Praxiteles, and yet recalls the more definite treatment in strands which marks the work of an earlier time. On all these grounds we are justified in regarding the head as a product of the early years of the fourth century.

Very different in effect, but quite as characteristic of the period, is a head in the Fogg Museum, often called the Ponsonby head from the name of a former owner (Fig. 115). The interpretations that have been proposed for this are many, but

FIG. 114. HEAD OF A GODDESS
Metropolitan Museum, New York

FIG. 115. THE "PONSONBY" HEAD
Fogg Museum, Cambridge

recent critics have in general agreed in regarding it as an idealized portrait. Such theories are based especially on the very individual treatment of the locks of hair over the forehead and in front of the ears. There is a certain similarity in the features to those of Alexander, which lends plausibility to the suggestion that the portrait is that of Olympias, the mother of the conqueror, but this is no more than a possible theory. The fourth-century date, in any case, can hardly be doubted. It is shown especially by the marked striving for expression in the eyes and the slightly open mouth.

FIG. 116. HORSEMAN
Metropolitan Museum, New York

The reliefs of the fourth century display many of the same qualities as the figures in the round, and in this field, also, our museums furnish excellent materials for study. A small relief in the Metropolitan may well be taken as the first example (Fig. 116). At first sight one is reminded of the horsemen of the Parthenon frieze, to many of whom this cavalryman, dressed only in a military cape and high boots, presents striking analogies.

FIG. 117. VOTIVE RELIEF
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

But even a little study serves to show that this relief is a work of later times. The figure is idealized, to be sure, but the more detailed treatment of the muscles and the more individual type of the face are surely marks of fourth-century style.

So too, on a small relief in the Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 117), the two youthful figures at first sight suggest the Parthenon frieze. But here again the treatment of the muscles is that of the fourth century rather than the fifth, and the letters

of the inscription are carved in fourth-century forms. The inscription shows that the relief was dedicated in some Athenian shrine of "Heracles the Averter of Evil" and is helpful for the interpretation. Between the ages of eighteen and twenty, the young men of Athens in the fourth century were enrolled in the service of the state and underwent a compulsory military training, acting as home guards in the forts of Attica. An ancient writer informs us that before entering on this service they made an offering of wine to Heracles, and after they had poured a libation, gave the wine to their comrades to drink. The structure at the right in the relief, then, is to be interpreted as the altar of Heracles the Averter of Evil, with the wine cup set upon it; the first of the figures is Heracles with his club and lion's skin; the second is probably Hermes, identified by his round, broad-brimmed hat; and the youthful forms were adopted, probably, with reference to the young Athenians who made the dedication. The whole is an excellent illustration of one sort of private commissions to which many sculptors of the period devoted their attention.

FIG. 118. MONUMENT OF SOSTRATUS
Metropolitan Museum, New York

A more important class of reliefs executed for individuals is made up of grave-monuments, which form one of the largest groups among the products of the fourth century. In size and in execution they vary greatly, but the workmanship in general is fairly good and testifies to the high level of performance among

FIG. 119. FRAGMENT OF AN ATTIC GRAVESTONE
Metropolitan Museum, New York

FIG. 120. MONUMENT OF HEGESO
Athens

FIG. 121. MONUMENT OF LYSISTRATE
Metropolitan Museum, New York

FIG. 122. MONUMENT OF KRINUIA
University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia

the ordinary marble-workers of the period. In form the gravestones of the fourth century differ from those of earlier times in having a more definite architectural setting. Usually the sides of the monument are worked out as pilasters and the top is treated like the gable end or the eaves of a building (Fig. 118). In this example in the Metropolitan Museum, the sculptor has carefully imitated the antefixes which finished off the tiles along the sides of a Greek temple and the decorative figures at the corners. The ornament in the form of a Siren was probably suggested by the figures that regularly adorned the peak of a gable. The figure composition follows the traditions of earlier times. The occupant of the tomb, Sostratus according to the inscription above his head, is represented as a young athlete engaged in scraping himself with the curved strigil, while his small slave holds his oil flask and his chiton. The figure of the slave reminds us once more that the Greek sculptors of this period were not interested in the forms of children, but represented them like adult figures on a small scale.

Better in execution is a fragment in the Metropolitan (Fig. 119), on which the figure of a seated woman is worked out with great care. The pose recalls the finest existing monument of this type, the stele of Hegeso in Athens (Fig. 120), and it is probable that the original appearance of the New York fragment was very similar. Here too, presumably, some simple action of daily life was represented.

In many of the fourth-century stones, however, we find more complicated groupings. The favorite subject during this time was what may be called the family group, an arrangement of two or more figures, with one commonly seated and clasping the hand of another. The monument of Lysistrate in the Metropolitan Museum is an excellent simple example (Fig. 121). The question of the interpretation of these groups has been much

debated, but the simplest explanation is that they are meant to symbolize the parting which death brings. There is usually a suggestion of sadness in the faces; the heads of the secondary figures are usually bowed; and sometimes other details suggest

FIG. 123. MONUMENT OF SOSTRATE
Metropolitan Museum, New York

grief. In this relief the older woman at the right has her hair cut short, in Greek work practically always a sign of mourning.

Very similar in general arrangement is a well-preserved stele in the University of Pennsylvania Museum, the monument of a certain Krinuia (Fig. 122). The only marked difference is that here the two supplementary figures are male. Though the work of a sculptor of no great skill, this is one of the best examples of this type of monument in America.

Slightly different in scheme, but still conforming to the gen-

FIG. 124. FEMALE FIGURE FROM AN ATTIC GRAVESTONE
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

FIG. 125. HEAD FROM AN ATTIC GRAVESTONE
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

FIG. 126. ATTIC GRAVESTONE
Fogg Museum, Cambridge

FIG. 127. MARBLE LEKYTHOS
Metropolitan Museum, New York

eral type of the family group is a very large grave-monument in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 123), carved, as the inscription shows, for the grave of a woman named Sostrate. Presumably, then, the occupant of the tomb is the standing figure at the left, of whom little more than the head is preserved. Again we are dealing with the work of a sculptor of no great ability, as the over-long hand of the seated man shows, but it is remarkable how much quiet dignity he has imparted to his work, so that we are reminded of the great decorative sculptures of the century before.

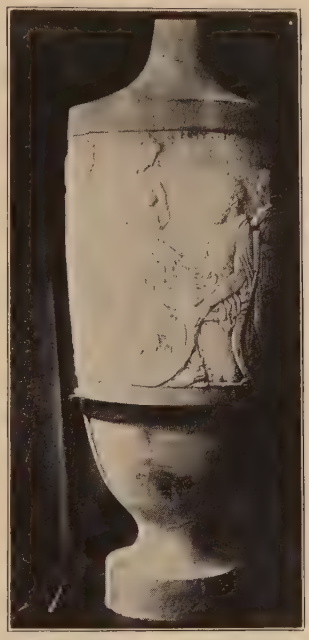


Fig. 128. MARBLE LEKYTHOS
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

The Museum of Fine Arts as yet possesses no complete example of a fourth-century gravestone, but the qualities of this type are shown by a single female figure considerably larger than life (Fig. 124) and by an interesting head (Fig. 125). The Fogg Museum has a small but unusual example (Fig. 126). In this, contrary to the common practice, an actual death scene is represented. The grouping recalls the usual type, but the way in which the seated woman sinks back into the arms of the slave girl can hardly be explained except on the supposition that this is intended to suggest the manner of the woman's death. Because of this more realistic conception, I am inclined to date the monument late in the fourth century.

Besides this type, one other form of grave-monument was very popular during the fourth century, the marble lekythos, carved in imitation of the clay oil-jugs which no doubt were

sometimes set up over the grave, as they were frequently deposited inside it. The marble examples are often of considerable size and are regularly decorated with reliefs, similar in conception to those on the stelae. On a specimen in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 127), we find the familiar scene of parting associated with the figure of a seated woman who holds out a bird to a little girl. It may be that the sculptor's intention was to show the occupant of the tomb engaged in two different actions,—playing with her small daughter and bidding farewell to her husband, — but the Greek custom of representing only one scene in a single frame is against such a supposition, and I think the seated woman should be interpreted as another member of the family. In this type of monument the figures are usually carved in low relief. Figures in the background were difficult to manage, and so the supplementary figures, which in the stelae are placed in the background, would naturally be placed at the side.

This point is further illustrated by a lekythos in the Boston Museum, one of the largest known examples of the type (Fig. 128). On this the family group is expanded until it includes six persons. The names of four are inscribed above them, including the seated man, Callias, in whose honor, presumably, the monument was erected. Though the workmanship is careless in places, so that several of the faces seem almost like caricatures, the carving of the robes, with their sweeping folds, is quite in the manner of more important works.

The most interesting point about these grave-monuments is precisely this close similarity to larger monuments of the great age. No one of them is signed; none, apparently, was the work of a well-known sculptor; yet the influence of greater works is constantly seen in them. Better, perhaps, than any other class of ancient monuments, they show that in antiquity no such great

gulf was fixed between the great artist and the handicraftsman as commonly divides them in modern times, as our own cemeteries show only too clearly. Set up along the roadways just outside the gates of an ancient city, as we can still see them in the famous Street of Tombs at Athens, the grave-monuments must have added greatly to the beauty of its approaches. Even if no other relics of fourth-century sculpture were preserved, we could infer from the grave-monuments most of its salient features — its greater individuality and expressiveness, its striving for grace and delicacy.

With the world empire of Alexander, a new era began for Greece. His conquests carried the Greek language and Greek culture to a large part of western Asia and to Egypt, and brought into the old Greece new elements derived from the civilizations of the conquered peoples. The date of his death, therefore, the year 323 B.C., is usually taken as a dividing line between the great period and the succeeding Hellenistic age.

LECTURE V

THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

The conquests of Alexander resulted in many changes in the Greek world. In all the great empire which he founded, Alexander endeavored to introduce the Greek language and Greek customs, and this policy was carried on by his successors, the men who, after the death of the conqueror in 323 B.C., carved kingdoms out of his empire. The result was a tremendous broadening of the Greek horizon, so that the Greek world after Alexander was very different from what it had been before. At the same time, the conquered peoples were not without their influence on the Greeks; their ideas and their customs considerably affected the ideas of their conquerors. It is for these reasons that the period which follows the death of Alexander is called the Hellenistic period. The term means "Greek-like," and is used to emphasize the character of the civilization of the time, in contrast to the earlier Hellenic or "pure Greek" period. The Hellenistic age is commonly defined as extending from 323 to 146 B.C., when, with the capture of Corinth by Mummius and the destruction of Carthage by Scipio, Rome became the dominant power in the Mediterranean.

Among the results of the eastward extension of the Greek world, one of the most striking was a change in the important centres of activity. In the Hellenistic age, the great cities were not so much the mainland towns which had been the leaders in the Hellenic periods, and with which, so far, we have mainly been concerned, but the cities of the eastern world, both the new foundations of Alexander and his successors, like Alexandria in Egypt and Antioch in Syria, and older cities of Asia

Minor, like Pergamum, Ephesus, and Rhodes, which rose now to new prominence. In literature, this was a period of erudition rather than of original production. The most characteristic activity of the times was the foundation of great libraries like those of Alexandria and Pergamum, where manuscripts of the writers of earlier days were collected and editions of their works were prepared. Nevertheless, this age saw the development of some new forms, notably bucolic poetry, and scientific studies were pursued with much more zeal and much more success than ever before — developments which give evidence of the enduring vitality of the Greek genius. In religion, the Hellenistic age was a period of scepticism, when the worship of the gods was formally maintained, but evidently with weakening belief in their power to guide and control human affairs, and when foreign cults began to obtain a footing, alongside of the established worship.

The effects of these changes on the development of sculpture are obvious in many ways. The few schools that we can as yet distinguish are connected with the new centres in the eastern Greek world, not with the older cities. Some, at least, of the works of the time reflect its erudition in their representation of the less important divinities who had rarely, if ever, been chosen before as subjects for sculpture, while others, in their emphasis on details of bone and muscle, suggest the influence of a more scientific study of anatomy. The religious scepticism of the time is perhaps reflected in the comparatively small number of figures of the great gods that are associated with it, though this may also be explained by the great number of these that had been produced in earlier times. One of the most noticeable tendencies of the age is a striving for new effects, a giving up of much of the restraint which is so marked in the sculpture of the great period. The tendency shows itself in a variety of ways,

sometimes in more theatrical poses and groupings, sometimes in the choice of subjects which earlier sculptors had avoided. One of the most remarkable classes of Hellenistic works is made up of figures drawn directly from daily life, and modelled, often, with painstaking exactness. Ugly and even repulsive figures are not uncommon. The Hellenistic sculptor stops at nothing in his search for novelty.

Fig. 129. APHRODITE OF MELOS
Louvre. (Photograph by Giraudon)

Speaking very generally, it may be said that Hellenistic sculpture developed along two lines, following two of the tendencies of the fourth century. On the one hand, the grace and delicacy of Praxiteles were imitated and exaggerated, with results which, at their worst, degenerate into a rather insipid sentimentality; and on the other, the intensity and emotional quality of Scopas were carried still further, producing in the end contorted and restless figures which are at the opposite pole from the calm and dignified types of the Periclean age.

We can best begin with a few statues in which something of the spirit of earlier times is evident. Conspicuous among these is the Aphrodite of Melos (Fig. 129), probably the most discussed of all preserved works of Greek sculpture. Everything that concerns this statue has been, and to some extent still is, a subject of controversy. Only in admiration of its beauty are critics generally agreed. To me, at least, the statue seems very surely to be a work of the Hellenistic period, because of certain inconsistencies that are hard to

FIG. 130. VICTORY OF SAMOTHRACE
Louvre. (Photograph by Giraudon)

explain on any other theory. The modelling, both of the nude and the drapery, is reminiscent of the fifth century in its simplicity and elimination of detail. In the face, however, with its smiling mouth and its expression of dreamy contemplation, the Praxitelean ideal is clearly to be seen. And the head, which is small in proportion to the total height, suggests the influence of the Lysippic canon. This curious mixture of qualities is best explained if we assume that the statue is the work of a Hellenistic sculptor, inspired by the ideals of earlier times and imitating earlier mannerisms with success. His indebtedness to Praxiteles certainly is marked, and the work may serve to show the powerful influence which that artist exerted on the men of the Hellenistic age.

Another very famous work, the Victory of Samothrace (Fig. 130), will illustrate the theatrical tendency of much Hellenistic sculpture. Set up on the island of Samothrace in 306, or shortly after, to commemorate the naval victory of Demetrius, "the besieger of cities," over Ptolemy of Egypt, this statue, since its removal to the Louvre, has become one of the most admired of ancient works. The lost attributes are suggested by coins of Demetrius, on which the figure is copied; they were a trumpet and a pole with a short cross-piece, the latter probably the stake used for setting up a trophy of captured armor. The pose of the figure is a firm one, and suggests that the Victory was thought of as moving forward, not by her own motion, but by that of the ship on which she stands, in sharp contrast to the self-contained statues of the great age. In the forms of the swirling drapery, too, there is a restlessness and an emphasis on detail such as is foreign to earlier works. Yet both these new tendencies are well controlled, and the Victory of Samothrace deserves its place beside the simpler conceptions of an earlier day.

The same theatrical quality is evident in another famous

work, the Apollo Belvedere (Fig. 131). This is a Roman copy of a bronze original, as the tree stump and the forms of the drapery sufficiently prove, and there are critics who assign the original to Leochares, a fourth-century sculptor, one of the collaborators of Scopas on the Mausoleum. The arguments that are most urged for such a theory are the marked elimination of detail and the slender proportions. But in both these respects, the maker of the Apollo went much further than any sculptor of the great age. The proportions are much slenderer than those of the Lysippic rule, and elimination is pushed so far that the statue has an almost unnatural quality in its smooth and rounded surfaces. Combined with the theatrical, striding pose and the sharp turn of the head, these qualities point, unquestionably in my opinion, to a sculptor of the post-Alexandrian period, inspired to some extent by earlier ideals and striving to imitate them, but falling into the exaggeration which is a common pitfall for imitators.

The erudite character of much Hellenistic work may be illustrated by the figure commonly called the Tyche, or Fortune, of Antioch, a creation of one of the pupils of Lysippus named Eutychides, for the new capital of the kingdom of Syria. The statue is mentioned by two ancient writers and is copied on Roman coins of Antioch; and through these a much-restored marble statuette in the Vatican can be recognized as a Roman copy (Fig. 132). All the curious and unusual details are due to the attempt to make the statue an elaborate personification of the city. Antioch was situated on a hill on the banks of the river Orontes, and so the goddess who symbolizes its Fortune is placed upon a rocky seat, and rests one foot on the shoulder of a swimming figure, the river Orontes himself. Some critics have even seen in the unusual pose a further reference to the situation of the town, which was built on the curving slope of the

FIG. 131. APOLLO BELVEDERE
Vatican

FIG. 132. FORTUNE OF ANTIOCH
Vatican

hill, and though this may be fanciful, it is a fancy quite in the spirit of the times. The ears of wheat in the right hand of the goddess symbolize the fertility of the surrounding region, on which the prosperity of the city depended; and the mural crown is meant to suggest its walls and towers. In all this, it is clear, the allegorical tendency of the fourth century, which we noted in the Irene and Plutus of Cephisodotus (Fig. 108), is carried further and elaborated in a way that is typical of a learned and over-subtle age.

These four works may serve to show some of the ways in which the older ideals, and especially the Praxitelean ideals of delicate and refined beauty, were modified by the sculptors of the post-Alexandrian period. At the same time, other masters, drawing their inspiration, apparently, from Scopas and Lysippus, carried further the realistic and pathetic tendencies of fourth-century art. The most important schools of Hellenistic sculpture that we can distinguish are connected with the city of Pergamum, one of those ancient towns of Asia Minor which rose to new importance in this age, as the capital of a powerful kingdom, guided by some of the most astute of the successors of Alexander. During the third and the second centuries, these rulers extended their sway over a considerable part of Asia Minor, and made Pergamum one of the great cities of the Hellenistic world, famous for its library and for its imposing buildings. Especially on the magnificent hill which served as the acropolis of the city, they carried out a series of building operations that may not unfairly be compared to those at Athens in the Periclean age. Two groups of Pergamenian sculptors can be distinguished, one associated especially with King Attalus I, who reigned from 241 to 197 B.C., the other with his successor, Eumenes II, whose reign covered the years 197–159.

Of the first school of Pergamum, as it is often called, the most

important works that we know are several groups of bronze figures set up on the acropolis of Pergamum and on the Athenian acropolis to commemorate the victories of Attalus over the bands of marauding Gauls who several times invaded his territory. At Athens, four subjects were represented — the battle of the gods and the giants, the victory of the Athenians over the Amazons, the battle of Marathon, and Attalus's defeat of the

FIG. 133. DYING GAUL
Capitoline Museum, Rome

Gauls. The intention clearly was to suggest a parallel between the victories of Attalus and the repulse of the Persians at Marathon, and to correlate these historical battles with two of the mythical contests which symbolized the triumph of the powers of law and order over the forces of anarchy and disorder. At Pergamum, only the defeat of the Gauls is mentioned by ancient writers, but it is probable that the other subjects also were represented there. The original statues have perished, but marble copies of one group and of eleven single figures have survived. We will take as an example the most famous, the so-called Dying Gladiator (Fig. 133), now generally recognized as a copy

(and probably a contemporary copy) of a dying Gaul from one of the Attalid groups. The spirit of this statue is very different from that of the great age. Every detail of bone and muscle is here rendered with painstaking exactness, and with remarkable knowledge and skill. The characteristic features of the Gaul, the short moustache and the masses of heavy hair, are most carefully rendered; the twisted necklace called the *torques* by Roman writers is faithfully imitated; the flowing blood is indicated plastically, a marked innovation; and on the base the litter of the battlefield is suggested by a shield, a trumpet, and a short dagger. Yet even here, something of the old restraint remains. The fame of the figure is largely due to the skilful way in which the sculptor has succeeded in suggesting, especially in the face, not so much the physical agony of death as the mental anguish of defeat. There is a nobility in the figure which very definitely suggests the art of earlier days, and Byron's famous description, though based on a false theory of interpretation, expresses remarkably well the spirit of the whole:

> He leans upon his hand: his manly brow
> Consents to death, but conquers agony,
> And his drooped head sinks gradually low;
> And through his side, the last drops, ebbing slow
> From the red gash, fall heavy, one by one.

The leading quality of the first Pergamenian School, then, as we see it in this and in other figures from the Attalid groups, may be said to be a careful, but restrained, realism, in which it is reasonable to see the more scientific spirit of the Hellenistic age, but which stops short of exaggeration and sensationalism.

These qualities make their appearance in the work of the second Pergamenian School. The great work of this group of sculptors was the altar of Zeus and Athena, of which many portions are now in Berlin, discovered in the course of German

excavations in 1878 and the following years. The principal decoration was an elaborate frieze, more than four hundred feet long, representing a battle of the gods and the giants. I cannot attempt to describe the details of this remarkable composition, with its astounding number of greater and lesser gods, all carefully named by means of inscriptions, and its equally surprising

Fig. 134. ATHENA SLAYING A GIANT, FROM THE GREAT FRIEZE OF THE ALTAR AT PERGAMUM
Berlin

giants, conceived in many monstrous forms, and also provided with names. It is one of the most learned of Hellenistic works, and suggests, as a French critic has remarked, that the designer asked the librarians of Pergamum to make lists of all the gods and all the giants mentioned in Greek literature, and then proceeded to work them into his composition. A single example must serve to show the character of the whole (Fig. 134). In these slabs, Athena is depicted as she rushes across the battle-

field, accompanied by her serpent. Together they have overthrown a young giant, who is human except for the great wings on his back. He tries to break the goddess's grasp and stretches out his arm towards his mother, Earth, who rises to appeal for her son. But the outcome of the struggle is clearly determined, for Victory stretches out her hand to crown the goddess. There is little here to recall the older art or even that of the first Pergamenian School. The deeply sunk eyes of the giant and the Earth-mother, with their upturned gaze, show the influence of Scopas, but greatly exaggerate his characteristic mannerisms. The folds of Athena's robe are carved with unnatural depth, to give the effect of the onrush of the goddess. Most noticeable of all, the attempt to suggest the powerful and straining muscles in the body of the giant results in a series of protruding masses that have little relation to the human model. The whole composition produces the same sense of restlessness that in a much later age characterizes the sculpture called *baroque*, and it is interesting to look back for a moment at a monument like the frieze of the Parthenon (Fig. 59) to see how much more simply and restfully the sculptors of the great age suggested figures in action.

Not all the sculptors of the Hellenistic period went so far in the direction of exaggeration as the men of the second Pergamenian School. Many realistic works of the period go no further than an extremely careful imitation of natural forms. This is the case with the figures drawn from daily life. Many of these show accurate observation of details and great skill in rendering them. An excellent example is the old shepherdess bringing in a lamb, now in the Conservatori Palace in Rome (Fig. 135). Such representations of weakness and old age the men of the great period had, in general, avoided, no doubt because they saw no elements of beauty in them. It is interesting,

too, that they seem to have had no interest in the forms of childhood; at least, their figures of children, as we have seen, are usually nothing more than adult figures on a small scale. Here, too, the Hellenistic sculptors evidently saw an opportunity to create new types. The finest example that we have is a boy struggling with a goose, attributed with practical certainty to a second-century sculptor named Boethus (Fig. 136). Several

FIG. 135. OLD SHEPHERDESS
Conservatori Palace, Rome

FIG. 136. BOY AND GOOSE
Capitoline Museum, Rome

copies prove the popularity of the type, largely due, no doubt, to the humor with which the subject is conceived. To the boy, the struggle is serious, and this is excellently suggested by the mock-heroic pose and the determined set of the lips. Even more notable is the accuracy with which the forms of childhood are rendered, the short legs and long body, the bulging forehead, the chubbiness so characteristic of small children.

Finally, one other group of works in which an increasing realism is manifest consists of portraits, and of these many remarkable examples have been preserved. Two of the best were found together in Rome in 1884. One has come in recent years to be called the "Hellenistic Ruler" (Fig. 137), on the very probable theory that it represents one of the successors of Alexander leaning on a spear, as Lysippus is said to have represented the great conqueror in one of his statues. In the nudity of the figure and in the perfection of the muscular body, we may see traces of the earlier idealizing tendency, but the very exact rendering of the muscles, and, above all, the individual traits in the head bear witness, clearly, to a Hellenistic date. Especially noteworthy is the rendering of the close-cropped beard by short, incised lines. The preservation of the statue is almost perfect, so that it shows, better than almost any other ancient statue, the technical skill of the Greek bronze-workers.

Fig. 137. "HELLENISTIC RULER"
National Museum, Rome

When the "Hellenistic Ruler" was discovered, some were inclined to interpret it as an athlete. But a comparison with the figure of a boxer, which was found with it (Fig. 138), is certainly not favorable to such a theory. By the post-Alexandrian period, the participants in the great games had come to be largely professional athletes, and the subject of this statue is clearly such a professional. With hands encased in heavy straps with reinforcements of metal, and head turned to one side, as if

to catch his breath more easily, he is resting between bouts. The broken-down nose and flattened ear bear witness to many hard fights, and the small cuts that appear in many places show the violence of the contest in which he has been engaged. The whole is far removed from the type of the "Hellenistic Ruler,"

FIG. 138. BOXER
National Museum, Rome

FIG. 139. FORTUNE OF ANTIOCH
Metropolitan Museum, New York

and shows the uncompromising realism of some of the Hellenistic portraits.

These, then, are the tendencies that appear in the sculpture of the Hellenistic age, and most of them are represented in examples in American collections. We may begin with a few works associated with definite names. A small bronze in the Metropolitan Museum is an interesting reflection of Eutychides's Fortune of Antioch (Fig. 139). The Roman copyist omitted the swimming river-god, and altered the position of the right hand and the lines of the drapery, so that the whole gives a very false impression of the original, but the statuette at least proves the popularity of this work of the Lysippic School.

FIG. 140. APHRODITE
Metropolitan Museum, New York

FIG. 141. SEATED STATUE, SIGNED BY ZEUXIS
Metropolitan Museum, New York

FIG. 142. APHRODITE
Metropolitan Museum, New York

FIG. 143. APHRODITE
Fogg Museum, Cambridge

A mutilated marble figure in the same collection is a Roman copy of a type attributed with considerable probability to a Hellenistic sculptor named Doidalsas (Fig. 140). More complete copies, of which a good many are preserved, show that the subject is Aphrodite bathing. The original is generally believed to be a statue mentioned by Pliny as standing in Rome in his time, in the temple of Jupiter inside the portico of Octavia. In the manuscripts of Pliny, the name of the author is variously given, but is now generally read as Doidalsas, since a Bithynian sculptor of that name is mentioned elsewhere. He appears to have lived in the third century, and with that date the pose and the treatment of the crouching Aphrodite agree well. It is, obviously, a later and more realistic rendering of the motive introduced by Praxiteles in the Aphrodite of Cnidus, quite in the spirit of the Hellenistic age.

A third work in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 141) is actually signed by a sculptor named Zeuxis, about whom, unfortunately, nothing more is known. In spite of its mutilation, the statue is interesting for its very natural and careful rendering of the drapery. It was probably a portrait statue.

These three works can be connected with definite names, and so assigned to the Hellenistic period. In other cases, the argument has to be based on style and workmanship, and on evidences of one or another of the tendencies that we have noted in the more famous statues of the period. Among works that show the influence of Praxiteles, one of the most obvious is a large bronze statuette in New York, some twenty inches high (Fig. 142), which clearly was inspired by the Aphrodite of Cnidus (Fig. 88). It is not an exact copy, for it omits the vase and the robe, and the hair is not drawn back into a knot. But it is only slightly modified from the Praxitelean original, with much of the charm of that famous work.

A number of other Hellenistic types of Aphrodite also show the powerful influence exercised by Praxiteles on all later representations of the goddess of love. One such is in the Fogg Museum at Cambridge (Fig. 143), an interesting example because of its similarity to the Aphrodite of Melos (Fig. 129). It is noticeable, however, that the drapery in this case covers the back and was held under the left arm, in a more logical manner than the robe of the more famous statue. A similar semi-draped type of female figure is found in a torso in the Boston Museum (Fig. 144), which, with its most successful rendering of very youthful forms, illustrates well the technical skill of the Hellenistic sculptors.

Fig. 144. FEMALE TORSO
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

In the heads of such figures, the Praxitelean model is sometimes followed closely, but often there are modifications of various kinds. These, in general, are in the direction of more individual and usually more sentimental expression, as in a head in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 145) and another in Cleveland (Fig. 146). Both are characteristic examples of a rather large group of Hellenistic works. They were at one time commonly called Alexandrian and supposed to have been made at Alexandria in Egypt, but since they have been found in many widely separated districts, it seems clear that they represent a general tendency in Hellenistic art, rather than the work of any one group of sculptors.

Besides Aphrodite, another favorite subject of the Hellenistic sculptors was her attendant Eros. In the great age, the god of

love is commonly represented as a winged boy of fourteen or thereabouts, as he appears on the relief which we studied in a former lecture (Fig. 46). Towards the close of the fourth century a new type made its appearance, in which Eros is little more than a baby. This rapidly became the favorite, and in the hands of the Hellenistic artists, was worked out in many varied and charming forms. A beautiful and fairly well-preserved example is in the Library of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan (Fig. 147).

FIG. 145. HEAD FROM A HELLENISTIC STATUE
Metropolitan Museum, New York

FIG. 146. HEAD FROM A HELLENISTIC STATUE
Museum of Art, Cleveland

In his left hand the god carries the socket of a torch, and so was thought of, perhaps, as a runner in a torch-race. The pose is a momentary one, but, with the right hand thrown out as it is, the figure is perfectly balanced and avoids any suggestion of unnatural strain. The rounded, childish form is most accurately modelled, and emphasizes once more the knowledge and skill of these later men in the rendering of small children.

The Scopasian tendencies, of which I spoke a few moments ago, are not as yet much represented in our American collections, but a head in the Cleveland Museum, plausibly inter-

preted as Heracles (Fig. 148), shows something of the manner of the fourth-century master. Remarkably square in outline, with great emphasis on the bony structure of the forehead and deep-set eyes, it produces an effect something like that of the Scopasian heads from the temple at Tegea (Fig. 96). But the delicately curved lips are altogether different from those of purely

FIG. 147. RUNNING EROS
Library of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, New York

FIG. 148. HEAD OF HERACLES
Museum of Art, Cleveland

Scopasian works, and suggest an eclectic sculptor of the Hellenistic age.

There are suggestions of the fourth century, also, in a colossal figure in the Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 149), which is identified as Cybele, the Great Mother of the Gods, by the curving cutting under the left arm for the tambourine of that goddess. The long, graceful folds of the drapery recall works of the great age. But the very slender proportions exaggerate even the Lysippic rule, and the high girding of the chiton, though it is sometimes found in fourth-century figures, did not become common until the Hel-

lenistic period. For both these reasons, therefore, the figure is to be assigned to the early years of the third century.

These works represent what might be called the traditional tendency in the sculpture of post-Alexandrian times. More interesting, in some ways, and certainly more novel, are the sculp-

FIG. 149. CYBELE
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

FIG. 150. TORSO OF HERACLES
Metropolitan Museum, New York

tures in which the new realistic tendency can be recognized. A characteristic specimen is a mutilated seated Heracles in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 150), identified by the fragment of a club propped under the left armpit. Here little is left of the generalizing treatment of the fifth and the fourth centuries. Every detail of bone and muscle is carefully rendered, with rather abrupt transitions from one plane to the next, and the small folds of flesh across the upper part of the abdomen are copied from life. At the same time, emphasis on details is not

pushed to an extreme. The ideal of the sculptor is simply a careful representation of nature, such as marks the work of the first Pergamenian School.

It would, perhaps, be rash to assign the Heracles to a Pergamenian sculptor simply on the basis of such general similarities as it exhibits to the Attalid dedications. A better case can be made out for another fragmentary figure in the Metropolitan (Fig. 151). Here both subject and treatment point to Pergamum, for the figure is surely to be identified as a Gallic warrior

FIG. 151. FRAGMENT OF A STATUE OF A FIGHTING GAUL
Metropolitan Museum, New York

FIG. 152. TORSO OF MARSYAS
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

on account of the tight-fitting trousers, and the pose is clearly that of a fighting figure. In subject, therefore, as well as in its careful realism, which suggests, but does not exaggerate the powerful muscles, it recalls the fighting Gauls of the Attalid groups, and is to be assigned to a Pergamene sculptor.

Two other works which probably go back to a Pergamenian original are two very similar torsos in the Museum of Fine Arts representing Marsyas the Silenus hanging from a tree (Fig. 152). The type is more clearly shown in more complete copies, such as the one in the Capitoline Museum in Rome (Fig. 153). The explanation of the figure is found in the story of the musical

contest of Apollo and Marsyas. According to this myth, Marsyas, after gaining possession of the double flute when Athena threw it away, challenged Apollo to a contest. He was defeated, according to the common version of the story, on the judgment of the Muses, and for his presumption was flayed; and it was believed that the river Marsyas in Asia Minor had its source in the skin of Marsyas, which was hung up in a cave. The figure of the hanging Marsyas was a favorite in Roman times, and many copies of it have survived. It is generally believed that the original formed part of a group, of which the well-known figure in Florence, called the Arrotino or Knife-sharpener (Fig. 154), was another member. But this is very surely a Pergamenian work. It is carved in the same marble as the copies of the Attalid figures, and shows the same careful realism in its rendering of muscular detail and in the way in which the features of the slave are carefully reproduced. In the copies of the Marsyas, like the one in Boston, it may be that the details are somewhat exaggerated to suit the taste of Roman patrons, but the subject, with its wonderful opportunity to show off an exact knowledge of anatomy, is evidently one that would appeal to a Pergamenian sculptor, and the Pergamenian origin seems highly probable. It is interesting to look for a moment at a representation of the same myth from the fourth century (Fig. 155). Three reliefs from Mantinea in Arcadia, now in the National

Fig. 153. HANGING MARSYAS
Capitoline Museum, Rome

Museum at Athens, show the contest of Apollo and Marsyas in the presence of the Muses. They come from the base of a group by Praxiteles, and were probably executed by his assistants. It is very noticeable that the fourth-century sculptor simply hints at the unpleasant feature of the story by placing the slave with his knife between Apollo and Marsyas. The Hel-

FIG. 154. SLAVE SHARPENING A KNIFE
Uffizi Gallery, Florence. (Photograph by Alinari)

lenistic sculptor shows us Marsyas actually suspended in the tree and the slave sharpening the knife, a change towards a more realistic conception which is most significant.

Of figures modelled directly from life, American museums until recently have possessed no specimens, but the Metropolitan Museum, some years ago, acquired a remarkably good example (Fig. 156). This is a Hellenistic original, not a Roman copy, as so many of these figures are. It represents a peasant

woman offering the products of her farm for sale. The face has been somewhat restored in plaster and the arms are gone, but the action can be inferred with practical certainty. The left arm was lowered, and the hand grasped the pair of chickens and the basket of fruit which are still attached to the figure. The right arm was advanced, and the hand undoubtedly held some bit of farm produce. The statue is really a wonderful ex-

FIG. 155. CONTEST OF APOLLO AND MARSYAS
National Museum, Athens

ample of Hellenistic realism. The bent form, and the wrinkled face and neck are copied from the life. At the same time, something of the earlier feeling survives in the carefully arranged folds of the two garments, which might be those of a fourth-century statue. The hair is confined by a veil, and over this a wreath of ivy suggests that it is a festival of Dionysus to which the old woman has brought her wares. The carving is remarkably crisp and fresh, and some traces of the original color have survived — a bright pink on the border of the

himation between the knees and a dark green on the sandal strap of the left foot.

More recently, the Metropolitan collection has been enriched by another example of this class (Fig. 157). A more complete replica in the Conservatori Palace in Rome (Fig. 158) makes it possible to identify this as the figure of an aged fisherman. In the Roman statue, to be sure, the fisherman's net and the staff are due to restoration, but the round hat, which is not restored, justifies the interpretation as a fisherman. Here again, it is noticeable that, although the nude is treated with extreme realism, the drapery falls in large and rather simple masses, suggestive of the earlier tradition.

Such figures from daily life tend, in all ages, to become caricatures, and of this tendency in the Hellenistic period the Metropolitan Museum possesses a remarkable example in a small bronze figure, a little less than four inches high (Fig. 159). With humped back and protruding chest, splay feet, hooked nose, deformed ears, and protruding teeth, this clearly was modelled as a grotesque. From a technical point of view, the figure has many points of interest. In spite of its small scale, the forearms were evidently cast separately, as they often were in the case of larger works in bronze. The whites of the eyes are of silver, and the irises and pupils were of a different material, now lost. Silver is also used for the protruding teeth. Hair and beard, and also small buttons on the sleeves of the tunic, were covered with *niello*, a black composition of several metals. Originally, therefore, the contrasting colors of the various parts must have been a remarkable feature of the work.

Finally, the portrait sculpture of the Hellenistic age is represented in American collections by a number of interesting examples, including some that can be closely dated. One of the finest is a bronze head in the Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 160),

FIG. 156. OLD MARKET WOMAN
Metropolitan Museum, New York

FIG. 157. OLD FISHERMAN
Metropolitan Museum,
New York

FIG. 158. OLD FISHERMAN
Conservatori Palace, Rome
(Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, pl. 393)

which, in spite of its individual character, has much of the quality of the work of earlier times. Though it was found in Egypt, the Greek character of the features is clearly marked, and this suggests that it probably represents a member of the dynasty of the Ptolemies, who, on the breaking up of Alexander's empire, established their power in the valley of the Nile. The most probable suggestion that has yet been made is that it represents Arsinoë II, the sister and wife of Ptolemy II. If this is correct, the date would be not far from the year 300, since Arsinoë was

FIG. 159. GROTESQUE
Metropolitan Museum, New York

FIG. 160. PORTRAIT OF ARSINOË II (?)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

born about 316. With such a date, the qualities of the head agree extremely well. It has individual character, especially in the shape of the nose and the curve of the lips, but the straight profile and the arrangement of the hair suggest the idealizing tendency of the fourth century. The workmanship is very fine throughout, and with the beautiful green patina with which time has enriched it, the head is one of the most beautiful bronzes that has survived from antiquity.

More typical of the post-Alexandrian period is a head of the philosopher Epicurus, the founder of the Epicurean school, in

the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 161). The features of Epicurus are known from a large number of busts, some of them inscribed with his name. He is universally represented in his later years, and as he died in 270 B.C. at the age of seventy-two, the original of all the portraits must have been made in the early years of the third century. Most of the extant examples are Roman copies, but the New York head has every appearance of being a work of the Greek period. The features are those of a thinker, with deep wrinkles in the forehead and about the eyes. The modern critic, with his mind filled with the later connotations of the word epicurean, may perhaps be surprised by the rather ascetic character of the face. But this is in accord with the ancient tradition. Epicurus himself was far from advocating the sensual existence which came to be associated with his system of philosophy. He himself argued that real happiness is to be attained only by complete independence of physical conditions, and it was only in later times that the Epicurean system became associated with self-indulgence. The growing realism of the Hellenistic period is very evident, if one recalls the fifth-century portrait of Pericles (Fig. 71).

FIG. 161. PORTRAIT OF EPICURUS
Metropolitan Museum, New York

Similar qualities are found in a bronze statuette in the Metropolitan Museum, some $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, with which is associated an unusual ancient base in the form of an Ionic capital (Fig. 162). Through an inscribed bronze bust in Naples, this can be identified as a portrait of Hermarchus, a pupil of Epicurus and his successor as the head of the Epicurean school. It

seems to be contemporary with its subject and to date very surely from the third century. Individual character is clearly marked in the face and also in the pose, with the feet set far apart and the head turned to one side; and the flabby breast muscles, which are characteristic of elderly men of sedentary habits, add greatly to the realistic effect.

Fig. 162. HERMARCHUS
Metropolitan Museum, New York

Less certain in its interpretation is the upper part of a herm in the Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 163). That it represents a Greek seems certain from the general type. That the subject was famous is proved by the existence of some twenty copies. That he was a poet is suggested by an ivy wreath which encircles the head in a copy in Oxford; and that the original was a work of early Hellenistic times can be argued from the restrained realism of the whole. For all these reasons, the theory that the type represents Menander, the comic poet, the famous writer of the so-called new comedy, has in recent years gained many adherents, especially as the portrait agrees in a number of points with the literary accounts of the famous writer. The drooping eyelids, the rather drawn face, and the thin neck are in accord with ancient statements that the poet never enjoyed good health; and the statement that he died at the age of fifty-one accounts well for the fact that none of the portraits suggests a man of more than middle age. If these arguments are sound, and they certainly seem so, the date of the original of the Boston herm

cannot have been far from 291 B.C., the year of Menander's death.

It was not only their contemporaries, however, who interested the Hellenistic portraitists. Some of them attempted to create imaginary presentments of the great men of former days, and one of these sculptors invented a portrait of the poet Homer which became extremely popular. Numerous examples of this type are preserved, all so similar that they must go back to a common original. One of the best, itself apparently a Hellen-

FIG. 163. MENANDER (?)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

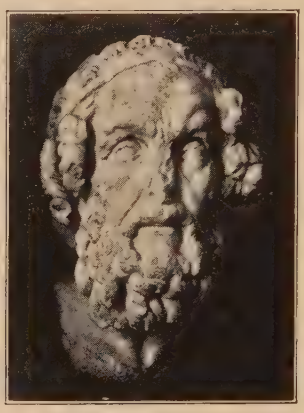


FIG. 164. HEAD OF HOMER
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

istic work, is in the Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 164). For this type, it is clear, the sculptor could have had no real model. The age of Homer long antedated the beginnings of Greek sculpture, so that the portrait is an imaginary one, based on the traditions of the blindness and the great age of the master of the epic. The popularity of the work was no doubt due to the success with which the sculptor suggested these qualities. The deep-set eyes, with their drooping lids, certainly seem sightless, and every detail that could emphasize the idea of extreme age, such as the scanty locks of hair on the crown of the head, the deep wrinkles

in the forehead and the cheeks, is worked out with painstaking care. The whole is one of the finest examples that we have of the Hellenistic sculptors' skill in realistic portraiture.

From all these monuments we gain a fairly complete idea of the varied character of the sculpture of the later Greek period. It is clear that alongside of sculptors who looked back to earlier times and drew their inspiration from the great men of a former day, others attacked new problems and led the way into new fields. It was a time of many changes in the field of art, no less than in the field of politics. But it should be emphasized that these changes affected the ideas and the ideals of the sculptors, not their technical ability. The men of the Hellenistic age were no less skilful in the carving of marble and the casting of bronze than the artists of the great age. The Venus de Milo and the great frieze of Pergamum are as skilfully carved as the Hermes of Praxiteles and the frieze of the Parthenon. For the history of ancient sculpture, the Hellenistic age is of the greatest importance; for it was Hellenistic art, with its realism and its wide variety of subject, that was transplanted to Rome when Greece fell under Roman dominion, and profoundly influenced the art of the new mistress of the world.

LECTURE VI

THE ROMAN PERIOD: GRAECO-ROMAN WORK

The Roman period in the history of ancient sculpture may be said to extend from 146 B.C. to 330 A.D., when the transference of the capital of the Roman Empire to Constantinople may well be taken as the beginning of the succeeding Byzantine age. The year 146 marks an epoch both in the history of Greece and in the history of Rome. In that year, the capture of Corinth by Mummius and the destruction of Carthage by Scipio definitely established the power of Rome over the greater part of the Mediterranean area. In the east, the kingdoms that had sprung from Alexander's Empire maintained their independence for some years longer, but from 146 on, the dominating position of Rome was generally acknowledged from the shores of the Aegean to the pillars of Hercules.

In the history of art, Mummius's capture of Corinth plays an important part. Even before this time some works of Greek sculpture and painting had been brought to Rome, as a result of the capture of the Greek cities of Southern Italy and Sicily during the wars with Hannibal and the earlier campaigns of Roman generals in Greece. But apparently it was the great number of statues and pictures which Mummius sent home to adorn his triumph that first opened the eyes of the Romans to the wealth of Greece in works of this kind. The attitude towards Greek art of the average Roman of the second century, B.C., is probably reflected in the famous story that in his contract with one of the ship captains who undertook to carry his booty to Italy, Mummius inserted a clause to the effect that if any statue or picture was lost, it should be replaced, a stipulation which certainly

shows little appreciation of the unique character of a cargo of Greek works of the fifth to the second century B.C.

A closer acquaintance with Greek art soon brought the Romans to a better understanding of its merits. During the second and the first centuries before Christ, there was an increasing demand for Greek statues and paintings. Wealthy Romans, like the famous Asinius Pollio, began to form collections, and the Greek artists of Southern Italy and Sicily, as well as those of Greece itself, began to work with an eye to the Roman market, and even to migrate to Rome. These men devoted themselves partly to the creation of new works, adopting and modifying established types to suit the taste of Roman patrons, partly to more or less exact copying of the masterpieces of earlier times, for which for many years there was evidently a ready market. Thus, in art as in literature, "Greece conquered took her conqueror captive," and the art of the Roman period betrays throughout the influence of Greece. But the Romans, though they were not essentially an artistic people, but rather a race of hard-headed business men and administrators, were a people with ideas of their own, and it was inevitable that in time these ideas should find a more definite expression in sculpture than they had in the older days before the conquest of Greece. During the first century B.C., there gradually developed, alongside of the essentially Greek works of which I have spoken, what has sometimes been called national Roman art, an art which aimed to express Roman ideas in a Roman way. The makers of the monuments of national Roman art, so far as our very scanty information enables us to judge, were largely Greeks, — it is very doubtful if many Romans ever practised the art of sculpture, — but Greeks so thoroughly imbued with the Roman spirit that their products are more Roman than Greek. We can, therefore, distinguish in the sculpture of the Roman period two different

tendencies, leading to the production of two kinds of work: on the one hand, what may be called Graeco-Roman sculpture, an outgrowth of Hellenistic sculpture, influenced to a considerable extent by the Roman patron for whom it was designed; and on the other hand, what may fairly be called Roman sculpture, more definitely expressive of Roman ideas and less dependent upon Greek models. The distinction between the two is sometimes difficult to draw, but I hope that in its main features, at least, I shall be able to make it clear, by considering in the present lecture the Graeco-Roman group of works, and in the next the sculptures in which Roman ideas are most definitely expressed.

To the rule that Roman ideas largely influenced the products of the sculptors of the Roman period, there is one marked exception. In the eastern Greek world, that is, in Asia Minor and in Syria, where the influence of Rome was less direct, the new ideas seem to have made little impression. Some works of Roman character, to be sure, have been found in these districts, but in general, it is clear that here the Hellenistic tradition persisted straight through the Roman age, and then, under the influence of new ideas from the orient, was gradually modified and changed into the art which we call Byzantine. With this phase of the sculpture of the Roman period I shall not deal in these lectures. There are, so far as I know, few monuments to represent it in American collections. But the fact, at least, deserves to be mentioned in any general account of the Roman period.

The judgments that have been passed on the monuments of the Roman age in modern times have varied very greatly. From the time of the Renaissance to about the middle of the eighteenth century, they were regarded with almost superstitious reverence, as products of that "classic" time to which men

looked back as to a sort of golden age. Even after Winckelmann, in his *History of Ancient Art*, had pointed out the dependence of Roman art on the earlier art of Greece, the Roman monuments were still greatly admired and regarded as models by which all later sculpture should be judged. The opening of Greece to exploration in the nineteenth century brought about a gradual change. With the recovery of more and more original Greek works, the esteem in which the products of the Roman period were held fell lower and lower, until it is hardly an exaggeration to say that by most critics of the later nineteenth century, Roman sculpture came to be regarded as little more than a late and degenerate manifestation of the grander art of Greece. In most histories of ancient art written in the second half of the last century, Roman sculpture is treated in a brief concluding chapter, and that chapter often contains little except disparaging comparisons.

Against this extreme view, a definite protest was first raised by the late Professor Wickhoff of Vienna, who, in a brilliantly written essay, pointed out that in the sculpture of the Roman age there are important innovations. Following his lead, other critics in recent years have taken up the cudgels for Roman art, and the last thirty years have witnessed the publication of a considerable number of books and essays devoted to the rehabilitation of the art of the Roman period. The recent defenders have sometimes, I think, overstated their case, but they *have* made good their main contention, that in the whole history of art, the Roman episode, as it has sometimes been called, is by no means so negligible as it was commonly thought to be in the nineteenth century. The innovations of the Roman period upon which Wickhoff and his followers lay most emphasis are three: the development of naturalistic ornament; what they call illusionism — the attempt in sculpture (and also in painting) to reproduce

more exactly the relations of objects in space; and the continuous method of narration, or the telling of a story by a series of successive scenes combined in one frame. All these innovations are more marked in the monuments of national Roman art than in the Graeco-Roman group, and I shall discuss them in more detail in the next lecture; but they must be mentioned here because they considerably affected the Graeco-Roman works as well.

Among the well-known monuments of the Roman age, there are many that have been greatly admired, and a few of these may serve as an introduction to Graeco-Roman works in American collections. One of the best examples of an exact copy is the bronze head in Naples based upon the Doryphorus of Polyclitus with which we are already familiar (Fig. 63). This head is important because it bears, cast in the bronze, the name of the maker, Apollonius, son of Archias, an Athenian, and from the forms of the letters employed, can be dated in the reign of the Emperor Augustus. The inscription is further interesting for the light that it throws upon conditions in the Roman period. Apollonius recorded his father's name to show that he was an Athenian citizen; he added "an Athenian" to show that he was trained in a good school, and so, presumably, to give added value to his work. There are several other works which are signed in similar fashion, and these, therefore, are commonly grouped together and designated as works of the Neo-Attic school. There is no evidence that the makers were associated in any close way, but the name is convenient because it calls attention to the fact that in the Roman age, Athens still had a reputation as a centre for the training of sculptors.

Of the other works which can be associated with the Neo-Attic school by means of inscriptions, some, like the work of Apollonius, are merely copies based on famous statues. Others

show a certain amount of originality. The colossal Farnese Heracles in Naples (Fig. 165), long regarded as one of the best embodiments of the Greek ideal of the mightiest of heroes, is signed by the Athenian Glycon. It represents the hero, worn out by his exertions in the quest for the golden apples of the Hesperides, which he holds behind his back in his right hand.

FIG. 165. FARNESE HERACLES
Naples

FIG. 166. VENUS DEI MEDICI
Uffizi Gallery, Florence
(Photograph by Alinari)

Several bits of evidence show that this type of the weary Heracles was invented as early as the fourth century, and there are some grounds for thinking that it was invented by Lysippus. But it is clear that no sculptor of the great age would have worked out the figure in the exaggerated forms of the Farnese Heracles. The spirit that meets us here is rather the exaggerated realism of the later Pergamenes carried to great lengths.

Not only are muscles and sinews over-emphasized, but even the veins are exaggerated. The result is that the figure fails utterly to produce the effect intended. It is no longer the great Heracles that stands before us, but the "strong man" of the side show, and it seems reasonable to attribute the change to the Roman patron for whom the figure was undoubtedly designed.

Another famous statue which represents a similar modification of an earlier work is the well-known "Venus dei Medici" in Florence (Fig. 166). The connection of this statue with the Neo-Attic school was long thought to be established by the inscription carved upon it, "Made by Cleomenes, son of Cleomenes, of Athens," but this signature is now generally believed to be a forgery of the seventeenth century. Even without the inscription, the statue may with reasonable certainty be attributed to a Greek sculptor, working for the Roman market. His model clearly was the Aphrodite of Cnidus by Praxiteles (Fig. 88), or one or another of the numerous modifications of that famous work. But the model certainly has been greatly changed in the hands of the later sculptor. In the Praxitelean original, the nudity of the statue is perfectly explained by the water-jar and the robe. There is no self-consciousness about the figure, but the eyes gaze off into the distance after the usual manner of Praxitelean works. In the Venus dei Medici, on the other hand, self-consciousness is evident in every line, and the gaze is fixed upon a definite point. It is the last step in the humanization of the gods. The goddess has become no more than a beautiful woman, and here again we may well suspect the influence of the Roman patron.

The Neo-Attic sculptors, then, were essentially copyists and adapters, drawing their inspiration from the accumulated treasures of earlier ages, which they often modified to suit the taste of the new masters of the world. Very similar in general

character is the work of another group of sculptors, who are known as the school of Pasiteles. From the hand of Pasiteles himself, no work has survived, though he is frequently mentioned by Pliny and once by Cicero. From these literary notices it appears that he was a Greek of southern Italy, who gained considerable reputation at Rome during the first century B.C.

FIG. 167. STATUE SIGNED BY STEPHANUS
Villa Albani, Rome

FIG. 168. ARTEMIS
Naples

Further proof of this is found in a curious and interesting statue now in the Villa Albani (Fig. 167), which is inscribed, "Made by Stephanus, pupil of Pasiteles." The reason for this unusual form of signature is, no doubt, the same as that which led the Neo-Attic sculptors to add "an Athenian" to their names. By recording himself as a pupil of Pasiteles, Stephanus meant to add to the value of his work by showing that he had been

trained in a good school. The figure itself seems at first sight to contradict the evidence of the inscription that it was made in the first century B.C. The broad shoulders and narrow thighs, the smiling mouth, the eyes insufficiently sunk under the brows, and the formal treatment of the hair are all qualities which we noted in works of the transitional period, the early fifth century. But the slender proportions are such as nowhere appear in any figure of so early a date; they show clearly the influence of the Lysippic canon. It is evident, therefore, that Stephanus did not differ greatly from the Neo-Attic group. Like them he looked back to an earlier period for inspiration. But he chose as his model, not a work of the great age, but some work of the period that just preceded the time of perfect freedom. Because of this statue and some others that show similar qualities, Pasiteles and his school have sometimes been regarded as the pre-Raphaelites of ancient times, as sculptors who took as their models the productions of the early fifth century, with their lingering archaic traits. Other products of the school, however, make it clear that the Pasiteleans sometimes drew their inspiration from later works and did not confine themselves to imitations of any one period.

In all this copying and imitation, the works of the archaic period also found their admirers. There is a considerable group of Graeco-Roman statues and reliefs in which the mannerisms of the archaic time are more or less faithfully reproduced. Such *archaistic* works are sometimes hard to distinguish from what is really archaic, but usually the imitator betrays himself by the introduction of motives or details which do not appear in the sixth century. A very famous example is an Artemis from Pompeii, now in the Naples Museum (Fig. 168). In this, most of the mannerisms of archaic sculpture are imitated with great success, and it is very probable that it is a fairly accurate copy

of a sixth-century original. But certain modifications reveal a later sculptor. No archaic artist ever posed a figure as this is posed, striding forward, with all the weight on the advanced foot, and no archaic sculptor ever finished off a robe in regular scollops such as are here employed. The dating of figures of this kind is a problem of great difficulty. They might have been made at any time after the close of the archaic period. But during the years when Greek sculptors were attacking new problems, that is, down to the close of the Hellenistic period, there is little likelihood that they would devote themselves to the imitation of early works, and the common opinion which assigns most, if not all, the archaizing statues and reliefs to the Roman age is very surely right. One other argument may be based upon the fact that in certain works archaizing figures and figures of free style are combined, and some of these are signed by members of the Neo-Attic group of sculptors. The best example is a large marble vase in the Louvre, signed by the Athenian Sosibius (Fig. 169).

Fig. 169. MARBLE VASE, SIGNED BY SOSIBIUS
Louvre. (Photograph by Giraudon)

One other class of monuments of the Roman period in which the Greek element is very marked consists of the marble sarcophagi, which were produced in large numbers during the first three centuries after the birth of Christ. These I shall speak of later in the present lecture in connection with examples in

America, but they should be mentioned here as one of the important groups among the Graeco-Roman sculptures.

These, then, are the classes into which the Graeco-Roman sculptures may be divided: copies of earlier works, more or less exact; imitations and modifications of older types, including the interesting group of archaistic sculptures; and carved sar-

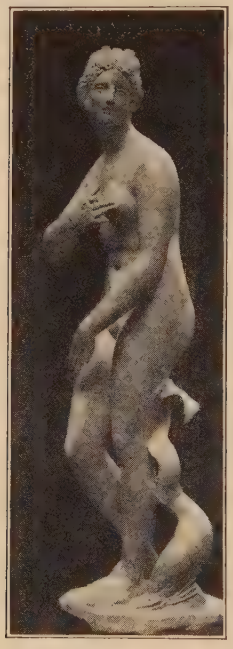


FIG. 170. APHRODITE, CALLED THE MONTALVO OR ALTOVITI VENUS
"Kijkuit" near Tarrytown, N.Y.

FIG. 171. APHRODITE
Art Museum, Worcester

cophagi. All of these classes are represented in American collections. The more or less exact copies need not concern us here, since I have followed the usual practice and considered them in connection with the periods to which the originals can be assigned. Among the modifications of older statues, Aphrodites of the type of the Venus dei Medici were immensely popular in the Roman age. One of the best preserved of these is the so-

called Montalvo or Altoviti Venus, now in the possession of Mr. John D. Rockefeller and set up in a marble temple in the gardens of his country seat at "Kijkuit" on the Hudson (Fig. 170). Many no doubt remember the discussions that raged about this statue when it was exhibited and offered for sale in New York some years ago. Advertised as an original by Praxiteles, and condemned by some who saw it as a modern forgery, it speedily attained a wide publicity. My own impression was, and still is, that it is ancient, and a good example of Graeco-Roman sculpture. The curious necklace or arm-band wound about the fingers of the right hand is quite understandable in the Roman period, and I can see no detail to suggest the work of a modern forger. The marble has been rubbed down and polished in modern times until it has acquired an unusual dark-brown tone, but otherwise there seems to me to be nothing in the statue to suggest anything but a Greek sculptor of the Roman age. A fragmentary example of the same type, the work of a more skilful artist, is in the Museum of Fine Arts.

Other modifications of Praxitelean Aphrodites were also popular in the Roman age. The Worcester Museum contains an example of the semi-draped type (Fig. 171), similar in many ways to the Hellenistic Aphrodite in the Fogg Museum (Fig. 143). The relations of the two sides of the figure are reversed, and the extremely hard lines of the drapery suggest a late and rather poor sculptor, but the type is evidently the same, and the statue has something of the same interest in its resemblance to the Aphrodite of Melos.

Very often, of course, the problem of determining the original of a Graeco-Roman statue is really insoluble in the present fragmentary condition of our knowledge of earlier periods. Such a problem is presented by a bronze Heracles, something over three feet high, in the Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 172). Several parts

of this are modern restorations, including the mane and the head of the lion, with its curious suggestion of open jaws. It is probable that the restorer has exaggerated the size of the lion's skin, for in a number of smaller bronzes of the Roman period which reproduce the same type, the left hand, holding the club, is visible, and the Boston statue actually has a fragment of a

FIG. 172. HERACLES
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

club in the left hand. The meaning of the extended right hand, which is common to all the replicas, is best explained as a gesture of welcome. None of the replicas appears to be earlier than the Roman age, but the existence of such a number in itself suggests a prototype of earlier date, and the unoriginal character of most Graeco-Roman sculpture points in the same direction. There is also in Bonn an ancient silver finger-ring, perhaps to be

dated as early as the fourth century, on which is engraved a beardless Heracles holding out a vase in his extended right hand, very similar in pose to the Graeco-Roman bronzes. All this creates a presumption that the whole series is based on some statue of the great age, but as yet the point cannot be proved. In the Boston statue, at all events, the rather superficial workmanship and the crude modelling of the hair and beard point to a Graeco-Roman sculptor of no more than ordinary ability.

A similar problem is presented by a small marble figure in the Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 173). This represents an athlete cleaning the scraping-iron which was used to remove oil and dust from the body after exercise. Here the awkward tree-stump suggests an original in bronze, and the fact that the same type is found in other statues in the round, on Roman reliefs in terra cotta, and on engraved gems, furnishes the usual type of argument for a common original. But the execution of these figures varies greatly, and none is close enough in its stylistic qualities to the manner of any known sculptor to make a definite attribution possible. There is a suggestion of Polyclitus in the stocky proportions and the squarish head of the Boston example, but the muscles show nothing of the sharp definition so characteristic of Polyclitus's athletic figures. Lysippus has been suggested as the author of the original, but the proportions are very far from those of his slender, nervous types. The real explanation of our difficulties in this case probably is not so much our ignorance of the works of the great age as the carelessness of the Graeco-Roman sculptors, who, in making small figures for decorative purposes often did not attempt to reproduce more than the general features of a well-known type.

Still another sort of problem is presented by a very famous head in the Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 174), called commonly

the Nelson head, from the name of a former owner. On the basis of its marked regularity of features, squarish skull, thick-lidded eyes, and pouting lips, this until quite lately was usually brought into connection with the Polyclitan school and believed to reflect some work of a close follower of the Argive sculptor. The rather free treatment of the hair was urged as an argument against an attribution to Polyclitus himself. A few years ago, however, a German critic pointed out that the arrangement of the hair presents very close similarities to that of the Ludovisi Ares now in the National Museum in Rome (Fig. 175). But the original of this is universally attributed to the fourth century, and generally, on the basis of the deeply-shadowed eyes, to Scopas or one of his followers. It is, therefore, impossible to say whether the Nelson head is a close copy of a work by some fourth-century master, strongly influenced by both Polyclitus and Scopas, or whether, in view of the eclectic character of so much Graeco-Roman work, the unusual combination of traits is due simply to the Graeco-Roman sculptor. The latter seems to me the more probable conjecture, but the other theory is by no means impossible.

In other cases, we can be more positive. A very attractive Hermes in the Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 176) shows such inconsistencies that it may safely be classed as a creation of the Graeco-Roman period. The sturdy proportions and the large modelling are reminiscent of the fifth century, and the successful suggestion of melancholy in the eyes recalls fourth-century experiments in facial expression. But the very small head and the slender neck are quite inconsistent with a work of the great period, and the small wings which appear to grow out from the hair are uncommon, at least, before the Roman age. Here, therefore, we are dealing with the creation of a late artist, who drew his inspiration from earlier statues of different periods.

FIG. 173. ATHLETE CLEANING SCRAPING-IRON
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

FIG. 174. THE NELSON HEAD
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

FIG. 175. LUDOVISI ARES
National Museum, Rome
(Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, pl. 388)

The expression of sadness makes it probable that the figure was conceived as Hermes the Conductor of Souls, and used as a grave-monument.

Of reliefs in which the imitative character of Graeco-Roman sculpture appears there are two excellent examples in the Boston Museum. One represents the death of Priam at the capture of Troy (Fig. 177). This subject was a favorite among the painters of the great age, and it may be that a painting, rather than a relief, served as the sculptor's model. The fifth-century origin of the design is apparent in the large modelling of the nude and the drapery, and in the comparatively inexpressive faces, not only of Neoptolemus and Priam, but even of Queen Hecuba, whose despair is hardly expressed except by the position of her arms. The Graeco-Roman sculptor has evidently followed his model closely, but betrays himself in the un-Greek form of Neoptolemus's crest and in his failure to show any fastenings for the shield, which seems impossible in this position. It is a typical example of the decorative reliefs turned out by the Neo-Attic sculptors. The inscription, which appears to have replaced an earlier one, has nothing to do with the subject. It was carved when the relief was used to decorate a tomb, about 200 A.D., and follows one of the usual formulae for Roman tomb-inscriptions, "Aurelia Secunda in her lifetime made (this tomb) for herself and her family." Equally typical of Neo-Attic work is a triangular marble pedestal for a candelabrum (Fig. 178). This

FIG. 176. HERMES
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

form was evidently a favorite with the Neo-Attic sculptors, for five examples of such supports are known, differing only in the figures in the panels. In the Boston pedestal, these clearly were inspired by Polyclitan models. One is closely dependent on the Doryphorus. But they have obviously no other significance than their value as decorations.

In all these works, we see the sculptors of the Roman age drawing on the productions of the great age for their inspiration. The archaizing tendency is also represented in American collections by several interesting examples. One of the best is a head in the Museum of Fine Arts, very probably to be identified as a head of Artemis (Fig. 179). The only evidence presented by the head itself is the row of flowers on the fillet which confines the hair, but as a garland of flowers was a common attribute of Artemis, the identification is reasonably sure. The sculptor was thoroughly familiar with the mannerisms of the archaic period. The eyes, which probably were filled with enamels in imitation of nature, are not much sunk, the mouth has a trace of the archaic smile. The hair over the forehead is treated in formal waves, on the crown and at the back in a series of many grooves, arranged in a regular pattern. The ear is placed too high, after the manner of archaic art. But the upper eyelid overlaps the lower, a bit of naturalism that is never found in genuinely archaic heads, and the undercutting of the hair is not found in archaic heads in marble. Some of the unusual features are perhaps to be explained by supposing that the sculptor was imitating not a work in marble, but a work in bronze. Such a supposition would account very well for the hollow eye-sockets, the wavy lines in the hair, suggestive of the engraved lines in archaic bronzes, the sharp edges of the flowers, and, perhaps, for the undercutting of the hair, which, in the original, might have been cast as a separate piece. There is much to be said for the theory

FIG. 177. DEATH OF PRIAM
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

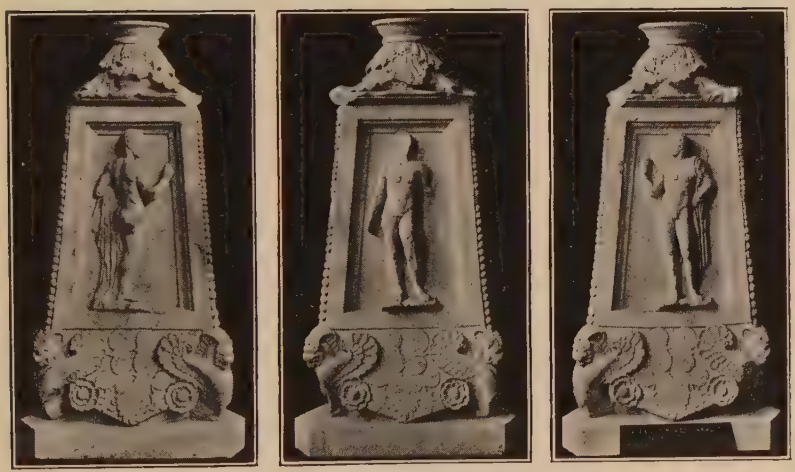


FIG. 178. PEDESTAL FOR A CANDELABRUM
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

that the head is a fairly exact copy of a bronze of about the year 500 B.C., but with modifications such as would naturally be made by a sculptor of a later age.

Very similar in general appearance is a head in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 180). Here, too, the inaccuracies and formalities of the archaic period are carefully imitated. But the very subtle modelling about the mouth, the elaborate carved pattern of the diadem, and the overlapping eyelids show clearly

FIG. 179. ARCHAISTIC HEAD (ARTEMIS?)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

FIG. 180. ARCHAISTIC HEAD OF ATHENA
Metropolitan Museum, New York

the hand of a sculptor of later times. It cannot be denied that such heads possess something of the charm of genuine archaic works, but it is a charm of sophistication rather than of naïveté.

In a male head in the Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 181), the influence of a model in bronze is even more evident. The hair is carved in fine rippling lines, and over the forehead is worked out in a complicated pattern, with numerous snail-shell curls. The late date is proved by the detailed modelling of the forehead and the lips, which give evidence of a much more accurate knowl-

edge of anatomy than the archaic sculptors possessed, and make the head seem almost like a portrait of an individual.

The reliefs in which the archaizing style appears are of many kinds. In some there is only the faintest hint of archaic formalism, in others, a riot of zigzag folds and pattern-like arrangements produces a most unreal effect. Of the former sort, there is an excellent example in the Museum of Fine Arts, with the

FIG. 181. ARCHAISTIC MALE HEAD
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

FIG. 182. FRAGMENT OF ARCHAISTIC RELIEF
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

lower half of the figure of a woman and part of the garland which she held in her hands (Fig. 182). In the long, straight folds and zigzag edges of the himation and in the rippling lines of the chiton, the imitation of the archaic is exact, but the naturalistic leaves and berries of the garland, with their careful undercutting, are quite in the spirit of Roman decorative reliefs, and point to the Roman period as the date. The workmanship is superior to that of most reliefs of this class.

More sophisticated, but still fairly close in many details to

FIG. 183. HERACLES AND THE ERYMANTHIAN BOAR

Metropolitan Museum, New York

FIG. 184. HERMES AND ATHENA

Museum of Art, Cleveland

archaic models, is a relief in the Metropolitan Museum representing Heracles bringing home the Erymanthian boar (Fig. 183). The head of the hero, with its bulging eyes, and the arrangement of the hair and beard, especially the row of snail-shell curls over the forehead, show a close approximation to archaic types, and in the hard lines of the arm and the leg there is something of the archaic manner. But the muscles of the torso are rendered in smooth and gently curving masses, as far removed as possible from the hard, knotted muscles of genuinely archaic works. The dead boar is remarkably naturalistic, and the introduction of a background, of which the tree at the right gives evidence, is one of the commonest traits in reliefs of the Roman age. The representation of a part of the boar only, as if his hind quarters disappeared, so to speak, into the relief, is quite contrary to the spirit of the early sculptors, who are most careful to represent completely what they attempt to portray.

Of the exaggerated archaism which appears in many Graeco-Roman reliefs, the best example in America that I know is in the Cleveland Museum (Fig. 184). It is part of a circular base, decorated with a common subject, a procession of gods. Of the two that are preserved, one is definitely characterized as Athena by her spear and aegis, and by the helmet in her left hand. The other was probably Hermes with his herald's staff. The most characteristic feature of the group of works to which this belongs is the working of the drapery with long, pointed ends. But many other features show an exaggeration of archaic traits, such as the long toes and the holding of objects between the thumb and the first finger. After studying such a relief, it is interesting to look at a genuine work of the sixth century (Fig. 8), to see how far the Graeco-Roman sculptor departed from his model.

Finally, the sculptured sarcophagi, of which hundreds, literally, have been preserved, furnish some of the most important

evidence for the persistence of Greek ideas in the sculpture of the Roman period. Most of these are late monuments, dating from the second and the third centuries after Christ. Yet they are almost universally decorated with representations of Greek myths, carved sometimes in a manner that closely reflects the Greek originals, but more commonly with figures crowded together and deeply undercut, in a way that is characteristic of

FIG. 185. RELIEF ON A SARCOPHAGUS: SATYRS AND MAENADS GATHERING GRAPES

Fenway Court, Boston. (Photograph by Marr)

the later decorative reliefs of Roman national art. The workmanship is usually hasty and careless, and this, together with the size of these monuments, is no doubt responsible for the fact that comparatively few have found their way to this country. Yet we have enough already to show, at least, the most important features of this class. One of the best examples is in Fenway Court, Boston, a work probably of the second century after Christ (Fig. 185). It is decorated with one of the favorite subjects, a Bacchic rout of Satyrs and Maenads, here conceived as

vintagers. A grape vine spreads over the background, and some of the figures carry baskets or vases filled with grapes. Dependence on a Greek original is proved not only by the subject, but by the types of the figures, with their marked fondness for the nude, and by the long, sweeping lines of the draperies. Directly or indirectly, the composition probably goes back to some work of the Hellenistic age. But the figures are crowded together and the spaces between them are filled in with small figures of children and animals, in a way that is foreign to Greek reliefs.

This crowding is even more noticeable in the relief from a sarcophagus in the Fogg Museum at Cambridge (Fig. 186).

Fig. 186. RELIEF FROM A SARCOPHAGUS: BATTLE OF GREEKS AND AMAZONS
Fogg Museum, Cambridge

Here again, the subject, a battle of Greeks and Amazons, is pure Greek, but many details show the influence of Rome. Some of the fighting Greeks are nude, as they so often are in the reliefs of the fifth and the fourth centuries, but others are dressed in full armor, more Roman than Greek in character. The marble is everywhere deeply undercut, in an attempt to suggest figures one behind the other, such as characterizes the "illusionistic" Roman reliefs of the first and the second centuries after Christ. And the border at the top is decidedly suggestive of Roman decoration.

A third sarcophagus, now in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 187) is especially interesting as an example of the continuous

method of narration. The subject is the contest of the Sirens and the Muses, a story which is known principally through a brief reference in Pausanias. That traveller relates that the Sirens, instigated by Hera, challenged the Muses to a competition; and the Muses, having defeated them, tore out their wings and with the feathers made crowns for themselves. In the relief, both the contest and the punishment of the Sirens are represented, with no formal division between the two scenes. The first figures, at the left, are the judges of the contest: Athena, with helmet and spear; Zeus, with sceptre, thunderbolt, and eagle; and Hera, with sceptre and veil. Next come

FIG. 187. RELIEF FROM A SARCOPHAGUS: CONTEST BETWEEN MUSES AND SIRENS
Metropolitan Museum, New York

the three Sirens, each paired with a Muse, while two other Muses appear in the background. In accordance with Greek tradition, the Sirens are represented as women, with the legs and the feet of birds. One of them sings, the other two play a flute and a lyre, respectively. They are in the midst of their performance, while the three Muses who are their opponents stand quietly beside them. To the flute-player is opposed Euterpe, who holds her double flute in her hands; the opponent of the singer is Polymnia; and Erato is matched against the lyre player. The figures in the background are characterized as Urania and Thalia by the globe and the comic mask on the ground at their feet. Next, with no mark of division, comes the

subsequent scene, the punishment of the Sirens by four Muses, who are, presumably, the rest of the nine, though they are not characterized by any attributes. In the background hangs a great curtain, such as is often used in these reliefs to mark an interior. Here again, we have a monument in which the subject and many details, such as the forms of the Sirens, the costume of the Muses, and the types and the attributes of the gods, depend upon the Greek tradition; but the deep undercutting and the overlapping of the figures are suggestive of the Roman decorative reliefs.

In many ways, therefore, the art of the Roman period was dependent upon the Greek art which preceded it, and the monuments that we have passed in review are well named Graeco-Roman. In other works of the period, a different spirit appears, a spirit best defined broadly as realistic. These are the works which are commonly grouped together as monuments of national Roman art, and which we shall consider in the next lecture.

LECTURE VII

THE ROMAN PERIOD: PORTRAITS AND DECORATIVE WORK

The monuments of national Roman art may be divided, roughly, into two large classes: portrait statues and busts, and decorative sculptures of various kinds. In both these groups, the most striking quality is a pronounced realism, which goes much further in the attempt to render the actual than even the Greek sculptors of the Hellenistic age had gone, and which is the essentially Roman element. Many of the monuments of national Roman art are closely datable, and it is possible, therefore, to trace its historical development with considerable accuracy. The earliest preserved works, to be sure, are not earlier than the last century of the Republic. But the character of the art of early Rome can be determined with some certainty on the basis of literary evidence. That portrait sculpture was largely cultivated appears clearly from the statement of Pliny that as early as 158 B.C. the number of portrait statues in the Forum had become so great that all that had not been set up by decree of the Senate or the people were removed by the censors. Moreover, it seems reasonably certain that these earlier portraits were realistic in character, for many of them, doubtless, were based on the wax death-masks which were carried in Roman funeral processions and then piously preserved. It is also a well-attested fact that in the early days of the Republic, the art of Rome was largely dependent on that of Etruria. The first temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was built by Etruscan workmen and decorated by Etruscan artists, and the gradual conquest of the Etruscan cities in the fourth and third centuries

was followed by the transportation of hundreds of Etruscan statues to the city on the Tiber. It is probable, therefore, that Roman statues of the early Republic, if any were preserved, would not differ greatly from the effigies of the dead carved on the covers of the Etruscan sarcophagi and cinerary urns (Fig. 188). In these, the attempt at realistic portraiture is a per-

FIG. 188. ETRUSCAN CINERARY URN
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

FIG. 189. ETRUSCAN PORTRAIT STATUE
Archaeological Museum, Florence
(Photograph by Alinari)

sistent feature. The bodies are commonly slurred over and neglected, awkwardly posed and badly proportioned, but in the heads there is always an attempt to portray the individual features of the dead, which in many cases produces extremely life-like effects. So, too, in the most remarkable Etruscan bronze that has survived, the life-size figure in Florence commonly called the Orator (Fig. 189), though the proportions are bad,

especially the over-long right arm, no one can doubt that in the face we have a reasonably accurate presentment of the features of the subject. No doubt many of the statues which were removed from the Forum in 158 B.C. were not unlike this.

With these theories in regard to early Roman sculpture, the earliest preserved monuments are in full accord. The portraits that we have from the late Republican period are marked by an uncompromising realism and often by very skilful characterization. The portraits of Cicero, to take a single example, suggest extremely well the leading traits of the great orator (Fig. 190). The large, mobile mouth reveals the practised advocate; the drooping eyelids suggest the keen and caustic critic of men and affairs; and the whole countenance shows the conceit which was such a marked weakness of Cicero. The portrait helps us to a better understanding of the poem which he wrote, beginning with the famous line, "Oh happy Rome, born when *I* was consul."

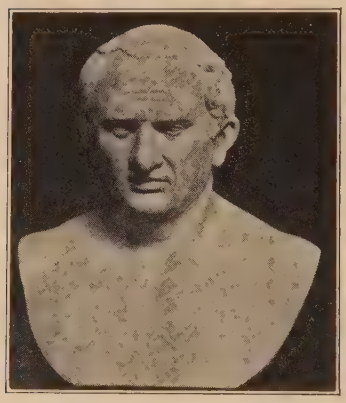


FIG. 190. CICERO
Vatican

Upon this realistic art, it was, of course, inevitable that the Greek works brought to Rome in the second and the first centuries should exercise a considerable influence. The first marked evidences of this are found in the period of Augustus and his immediate successors. The monuments of this time are carved in what has often been called the "Empire style," and are characterized by a certain breadth and simplicity which it is reasonable to attribute to the influence of Greece. The portraits of Augustus himself are among the best examples, especially the

famous statue from Prima Porta, representing the Emperor as a military commander (Fig. 191). Though much here is distinctively Roman, especially the emphasis on the decorative figures of the breastplate and the pleats and fringes of the tunic, the

FIG. 191. AUGUSTUS FROM PRIMA PORTA
Vatican

face displays a regularity of feature and a tendency to generalize that is reminiscent of Greek art; and it is interesting that in spite of the realistic details, the feet are bare, and the pose and the proportions of the figure show a resemblance to the Doryphorus of Polyclitus (Fig. 52) which can hardly be due to chance.

Similar qualities are evident in the most famous large monument of Augustus's reign, the Altar of Augustan Peace, dedi-

cated in the year 9 B.C. and commonly referred to by modern writers as the Ara Pacis. Many parts of this building have been found in modern times near the site where it was erected in the Campus Martius, and more careful explorations some years ago brought to light considerable parts of the foundations and cleared up a number of disputed problems. The name altar is somewhat misleading, for the actual altar was only a small part of the whole. It stood in the centre of a paved square enclosed

FIG. 192. TELLUS RELIEF FROM THE ARA PACIS
Uffizi Gallery, Florence. (Photograph by Alinari)

by a wall about twenty feet high. The outside measurements were about 37 by 34 feet, and all the visible parts were of marble. Both inside and out, this wall was elaborately decorated with sculpture. The inner decorations consisted of heavy garlands attached to ox-skulls by broad fillets; those of the outside were made up of elaborate floral scrolls for the lower parts of the wall, and figure compositions for the upper portions.

In the figure compositions of the Ara Pacis, the influence of Greek models is clear. One (Fig. 192), which represents Tellus, Mother Earth, flanked by allegorical figures symbolizing, per-

FIG. 193. PROCESSIONAL RELIEFS FROM THE ARA PACIS
Uffizi Gallery, Florence. (Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, pl. 401)

haps, the spirits of the Air, is conceived in Hellenistic forms, and may, perhaps, be modelled on a Hellenistic original. But the most important, the two processional reliefs from the larger sides of the monument, are entirely in the Empire style. On the north side, the procession is composed largely of senators, identified by their senatorial rings; on the south were lictors and priests and the imperial family (Fig. 193). Much here betrays

Fig. 194. RELIEFS FROM THE ARA PACIS: DECORATIVE SCROLLS AND GARLAND
Uffizi Gallery, Florence, and National Museum, Rome

the Roman point of view. Details are carved with painstaking fidelity — the robes and the sandals, the caps of the flamens, the sacrificial implements in the hands of the priests and their attendants. The faces, too, are portrait-like, and a spectator who had seen the actual procession could probably name the participants exactly. Yet the whole is carved with the restraint and dignity characteristic of all the monuments of the Augustan period. In the manner of carving the relief, there is one marked

departure from Greek standards. The figures are definitely ranged in two rows, one carved in higher relief than the other, an early example of that "illusionism" of which Wickhoff and his followers make so much.

The purely decorative parts of the Ara Pacis are no less important than the figure compositions for an understanding of Augustan art (Fig. 194). In the foliage decorations of the exterior, the intention of the sculptor seems to have been to suggest a vine actually growing over the wall. The basis of the design is the conventionalized acanthus, which was largely used as an element in Greek ornament, notably in the Corinthian capital. But the scrolls often end, not in conventional palmettes, such as are commonly associated with the acanthus in Greek design, but in flowers of different sorts; and the effect of actuality is increased by the introduction of small shoots and tendrils twining about the larger stalks, and by great swans with outspread wings at regular intervals at the top. Here, then, we find a design based upon Greek elements, but worked out in an entirely new spirit. The interior garlands are carved as if a real garland, made up of a wide variety of fruits and flowers, were actually laid upon the stone. Every detail is worked out with the utmost care, and here, also, the illusionist principle is clearly in evidence.

For the reigns of the immediate successors of Augustus, our evidence for the progress of Roman sculpture consists of little except portraits, altars, and urns for the ashes of the dead. The altars and the urns are usually decorated with garlands, similar in general design to those of the Ara Pacis, but rather more careless in execution; and in the portraits, something of the dry correctness and the Greek mannerisms of Augustan art persists, so that the products of all the earlier reigns, to the death of Nero in 68 A.D., are conveniently grouped together as works of the Julio-

Claudian period, or works of the Early Empire. An excellent example of the portraiture of this time is the interesting statue of the Emperor Claudius as Jupiter, now in the Vatican (Fig. 195). The body is obviously patterned on some Greek representation of Zeus, the head seems to be a fairly accurate present-

FIG. 195. CLAUDIUS AS JUPITER
Vatican

ment of the features of this rather pedantic and narrow-minded Emperor.

With the time of the Flavian emperors, the years between 69 and 96 A.D., a weakening of the Greek element is apparent. One of the noticeable features of the recent revaluation of the products of the Roman age has been the way in which the Flavian period has emerged, so to speak, as the golden age of Roman sculpture. Many of the finest portraits are of this time, and its

most conspicuous monument, the Arch of Titus, occupies a prominent place in every modern history of Roman sculpture. Erected to commemorate the capture of Jerusalem in 70 A.D., the Arch of Titus was dedicated by Domitian in the year 81.

FIG. 196. RELIEFS ON THE ARCH OF TITUS
Rome

Much of its decoration is destroyed, but the most important portions are still in place — the two panels at either side of the central passageway, in which are depicted two scenes from the triumphal procession (Fig. 196). In one we see the Emperor in his chariot, conducted by the goddess Roma and crowned by

Victory. About the chariot are ranged lictors and citizens, and two ideal figures apparently represent the Roman Senate and the Roman People. In the other panel is portrayed another part of the procession, carrying the most important of the spoils from Jerusalem, the table of the show bread, the trumpets, and the seven-branched candlestick. In the working out of these subjects, the "illusionist" method is carried to great lengths, in the attempt to suggest the actual procession. It is no longer a question of two or even more planes, but the figures are carved at all sorts of levels, some practically in the round, some merely sketched on the background. The result, as Wickhoff pointed out, is that light and air play among the figures and aid in producing the illusion of an actual procession, actually moving in space; or, to state the matter in another way, the sketchy figures on the background cast no shadow, but the figures in higher relief cast shadows on those behind them. It is as if a window were thrown open and we saw the procession through it.

FIG. 197. ROSE PILLAR FROM THE TOMB OF THE HATERII
Lateran Museum, Rome

The illusionist treatment is found also in other decorative reliefs of the Flavian period and to some extent in portraits. The Rose Pillar from the tomb of the Haterii (Fig. 197) really suggests a growing plant, and the effect of actuality is increased by the birds that perch upon the column. The portraits of Vespasian (Fig. 198) are carved with a roundness and a regard for

the play of light which distinctly suggest the illusionist manner. Among the portraits, the most remarkable are those of the ladies of the imperial court, among whom a marvelous arrangement of the hair was in fashion, a sort of frontlet of tight-curled ringlets, which must have been supported by a wire frame (Fig. 199).

In the monuments of the reign of Trajan (98–117 A.D.), the illusionist manner persists, but shows considerable modification.

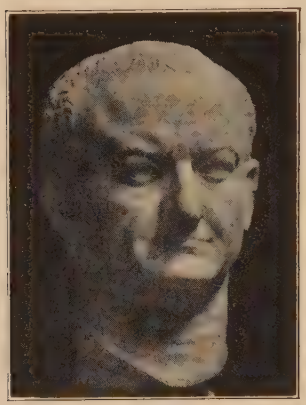


FIG. 198. VESPASIAN
National Museum, Rome
(Photograph by Alinari)

FIG. 199. PORTRAIT BUST
FLAVIAN PERIOD
Naples

The figures are still carved in many different levels, but are crowded together in a way that loses much of the clarity of Flavian reliefs. An excellent example of Trajanic sculpture is one of the panels that now adorn the central passageway of the Arch of Constantine (Fig. 200). At the left, the Emperor, conducted by the goddess Roma and crowned by Victory, enters Rome in triumph. Behind him, the lictors with their *fasces* suggest the crowd of attendants. At the right is the beginning of a battle, in which the crowding of the relief is equally evident. Incidentally, this is an excellent example of the continuous

FIG. 200. RELIEF ON THE ARCH OF CONSTANTINE
Rome. (Photograph by Alinari)

FIG. 201. RELIEF ON THE COLUMN OF TRAJAN
Rome. (Cichorius, *Die Reliefs der Traianssäule*, pl. 9; from casts)

method of narration. The two events depicted were, in reality, separated by a wide interval both in time and space. Yet they are represented in the same frame, with no indication of any division.

A far better example of the continuous method, however, is the most imposing monument of Trajan's reign, the sculptured column which formed a part of his new Forum, dedicated about 113 A.D. On this, in a spiral band of relief, are depicted the two campaigns of the Emperor against the Dacians. It is a chronicle in stone of the events of the two campaigns, in which, throughout the whole 660 feet of the relief, one episode follows another with no fixed lines of demarcation. A single example will serve to illustrate the principle (Fig. 201). Here, at the beginning of the first campaign, the Emperor, surrounded by his staff, inspects the army as it marches past; and then, with no mark of division, comes a scene of sacrifice, with the troops taking part in a procession around the walls of a town. In such a composition, obviously, there was no opportunity for illusionist methods. The figures are kept at one level, and such effects of distance as are attempted are suggested by a miniature background, worked out in very false perspective, and by arranging the figures one above another. The Roman realism is everywhere in evidence, especially in the careful rendering of details of dress and armor, so that the column is a mine of information on Roman military antiquities.

The succeeding reign of Hadrian (117–138) witnessed a second period of Greek influence, sometimes called the "Hadrianic revival," for which the Emperor himself is thought to have been largely responsible. Hadrian was a great traveller, much interested in Greece and Egypt and their ancient civilizations. His own taste is reflected in his famous villa near Tivoli, in the ruins of which many copies and imitations of Greek and Egyp-

tian works have been found. The portraits of the Emperor (Fig. 202) certainly show something of the simplicity and generalizing tendency of Greek portrait heads, though they exhibit new realistic details in the occasional use of incised lines to indicate the pupil and the iris of the eye; and Hadrianic reliefs are full of Greek suggestions. A very interesting example was found

FIG. 202. HADRIAN
Vatican

FIG. 203. ANTINOÜS AS A RUSTIC DEITY
National Museum, Rome
(Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, pl. 635)

in 1908 on the site of ancient Lanuvium (Fig. 203). The subject is Antinoüs, the favorite of Hadrian, who, after his mysterious death in Egypt, was worshipped as a god throughout the Roman Empire. He is here represented as a rustic deity, probably Silvanus. The simplicity of the whole conception is noteworthy. The figure is carved in one plane, after the manner of Greek reliefs, the grapevine shows none of the "illusionist" mannerisms.

The monument is further interesting because of the signature on the altar, "Made by Antonianus of Aphrodisias." Several other works dating from the reign of Hadrian are signed by artists from the Carian city of Aphrodisias, which was evidently at this time an important centre for the training of sculptors.

The Hadrianic revival, however, was too official in character, too much imposed from above to affect very profoundly the

Fig. 204. COMMODUS AS HERCULES
Conservatori Palace, Rome

main current of Roman sculpture, and the works of the later reigns of the second century show, in general, the mannerisms of the preceding period, combined with rather less skilful execution. In the reliefs of Marcus Aurelius, the sculptors are still experimenting with the problem of suggesting the relations of figures in space; the column of Marcus is a frank imitation of the column of Trajan; and the portraits reveal several innova-

tions looking towards greater realism, especially in the careful indication of the iris and the pupil of the eye, and in the polish frequently given to the nude parts of the figure. The famous bust of Commodus, the son and successor of Marcus Aurelius, decked out with the attributes of Hercules (Fig. 204), will illustrate both these points.

With the third century, the decline of Roman sculpture definitely begins. The portraits of this period still preserve much of the old ability to suggest personal peculiarities and personal character, but the reliefs of the time show a marked falling off in skill. This is clearly apparent in the Arch of Septimius Severus, erected in the Forum in honor of that Emperor in 203 A.D. The small and crowded figures on this monument, combined in the continuous manner to form a number of scenes from the campaigns of the Emperor in the East, could never have produced a very clear impression, even before they were so seriously mutilated; and later monuments of the third century show that the decline was rapid. How rapid it was appears in the decorative sculptures of the Arch of Constantine, which dates, in its present form, from the early years of the fourth century. Most of these sculptures were taken from earlier buildings, and there is even some evidence that the arch itself is not a work of Constantine's time, but an earlier monument, perhaps of the first century. However this may be, there is no question that most of the sculptured decoration was plundered from buildings of earlier date, and that the parts which were carved in the fourth century are decidedly the poorest of all. The most important of these are the reliefs that make up the narrow band around the piers just above the level of the side arches. One of the best preserved, representing the Emperor distributing gifts to the people (Fig. 205), will show the changes that had taken place. The most striking is the isolation of the figures, which are hardly

FIG. 205. RELIEFS ON THE ARCH OF CONSTANTINE
Rome. (Photograph by Alinari)

FIG. 206. ROMAN PORTRAIT BUST IN TERRA-COTTA
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

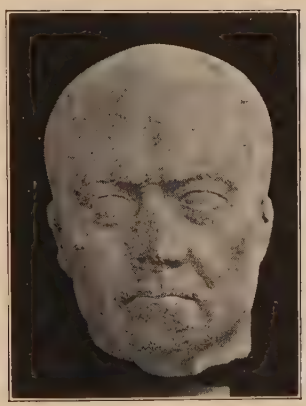


FIG. 207. PORTRAIT OF A ROMAN
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

bound together at all, and the tendency to return to the frontal position of archaic art. The squat and heavy forms, also, which are in marked contrast to those of the Flavian medallions just above them, furnish further evidence of the sculptors' loss of power. With such work, we stand on the threshold of the middle ages.

Such, very briefly, is the history of Roman sculpture. The monuments in this country which show its development consist for the most part of portraits, but there are some works of decorative sculpture. Among the monuments of the Republican period, the most conspicuous is a terra-cotta bust in the Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 206), which illustrates extremely well the realistic tendencies in the portraits of the time. It is interesting archaeologically as one of the few ancient portraits in terra-cotta that have been preserved. Because of the material, it is generally believed to be, not a finished work, but a sculptor's study for a portrait in bronze or in marble, and the very exact rendering of details makes it probable that it was made with the use of a cast taken from the living model. Pliny tells us that in the fourth century B.C., Lysistratus, a brother of Lysippus, invented a process for taking such casts, but there is little evidence for their use in portraits of the Greek period. The Roman portraits, however, frequently suggest, in their exact reproduction of individual traits, a process of this kind. Yet the Roman portraits are never mere mechanical reproductions. Here, for instance, many of the details, such as the crows' feet about the eyes, the wrinkles of the forehead and the neck, and the sketchy hair, must be largely due to the artist himself. The total effect is one of great lifelikeness, so that the man himself seems to be before us, and we involuntarily trace out resemblances to persons whom we know.

Much less attractive, but equally striking in its uncompromis-

ing realism, is a marble head in the Museum of Fine Arts, representing, one would say, a man of determined and not altogether agreeable character (Fig. 207). This and a few other Republican portraits present a curious problem in their apparently complete baldness. This, however, is undoubtedly due to chance. In heads of this sort, the line of the hair is marked by a slight elevation, and the surface bounded by this line is finely rasped all over the skull. Probably, therefore, the hair was represented

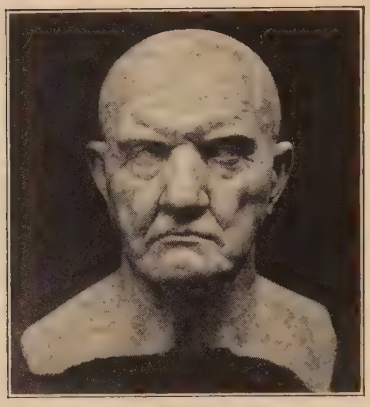


FIG. 208. PORTRAIT OF A ROMAN
Metropolitan Museum, New York

FIG. 209. BRONZE PORTRAIT (AGRIPPA?)
Metropolitan Museum, New York

by color, or possibly by a thin layer of stucco. The same problem is presented by an interesting head in the Metropolitan Museum, which is one of the finest examples of Republican portraiture, well fitted to suggest the Roman of the old school, accustomed to command and to brook no interference with his decisions (Fig. 208). Another fine example in the Metropolitan collection is a bronze head over life-size, identified with some probability as a portrait of Agrippa, the famous friend and general of Augustus (Fig. 209). It was found at Susa near Turin,

together with fragments of a statue and parts of a marble block containing a dedicatory inscription to Agrippa, and is similar, in a general way, to his portraits on coins. The identification, if correct, would date the work early in the reign of Augustus, since Agrippa died in 12 B.C. at the age of fifty-one, a date with which the style agrees extremely well.

Much pleasanter in effect than these portraits of what may be called the "ruling class" are the effigies of less conspicuous cit-

FIG. 210. ROMAN TOMBSTONE
Metropolitan Museum, New York

izens which were carved upon their tombs, like a representation of a father and daughter, also in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 210). Though the work of less able sculptors, these heads often suggest geniality and a sense of humor, qualities that are sadly lacking in most of the Republican portraits. The dating of monuments of this sort, which cannot be compared with inscribed portraits or coin-types, is based partly on the shape of the bust, partly on the character of the portraiture. A small

bust, such as is here represented, including only a small part of the breast, was in vogue during the Republican period and the early empire, so that the relief is surely to be dated before the middle of the first century after Christ. But there is here no evidence of the Greek influence which appears in Julio-Claudian work. The ideal of the sculptor was clearly as exact a rendering of his subjects as he could manage; he even flattens one ear of each against the background to make sure that nothing is omit-

FIG. 211. AUGUSTUS
Metropolitan Museum, New York

FIG. 212. AUGUSTUS
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

ted. This surely is the spirit of the Republican sculptors, and the relief is therefore to be assigned to the Republican period.

The style of the Augustan age, with its marked evidences of Greek influence, can be seen in a whole series of excellent examples in American collections. Among these, portraits of the Emperor occupy a prominent place. More portraits of Augustus have survived than of any other of the Roman emperors, representing him at almost every age. A comparatively youthful portrait is in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 211). It shows well the features common to all the portraits of Augustus, the rather flat skull, the broad forehead, the sensitive mouth, the

round chin, the protruding ears, and the hair somewhat disordered, with a series of pointed locks in front. A head in the Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 212) dates from a later period in the Emperor's life, as the lines above the nose and about the mouth reveal; and a second head in the same collection (Fig. 213) shows a much more generalizing treatment, with the features made regular and many details eliminated, after the manner of the earlier Greek portraitists. Different as these three heads are, they all possess something of the "classic" quality of the art of the Augustan age.

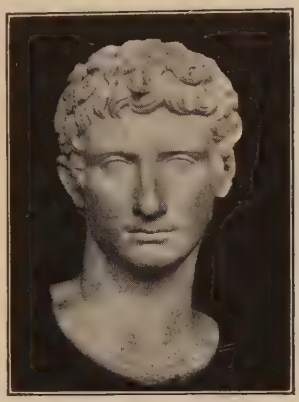


Fig. 213. AUGUSTUS
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

The sort of body with which such heads were associated was probably the figure in full armor, as we see it in the Augustus from Prima Porta, and of this type, also, the Museum of Fine Arts contains an excellent example (Fig. 214). The breastplate is not so elaborately carved as that of the statue in Rome, but with its careful rendering of the decorative reliefs — here a statue of Athena between two Victories — it is surely to be placed in the Julio-Claudian period and interpreted as the torso of an imperial statue. Greek influence is evident in the types of the decorative figures, which closely resemble those of the Neo-Attic reliefs.

Even better as an example of Greek influence is the remarkable bronze statue of a boy in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 215). Everything about the statue except the portrait head is essentially Greek. Even the drapery is not the toga, which we should expect to find on a Roman statue, but the Greek himation, with indications of a striped pattern, such as are found on

some of the figures of the Pergamenian altar and other Greek works. But the head is surely a portrait, and very probably that of a member of the Julio-Claudian family. Its general features are precisely those that are found in portraits of Augustus and Tiberius, broad forehead, rather flat skull, round chin, and protruding ears. The most probable suggestion that has yet

FIG. 214. TORSO OF A STATUE IN FULL ARMOR
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

FIG. 215. BRONZE STATUE OF A BOY
Metropolitan Museum, New York

been made is that the boy is one of the two grandsons of Augustus, Gaius and Lucius Caesar. The work is clearly that of a clever sculptor, who has succeeded remarkably well in rendering the undeveloped muscles and the smooth flesh of a boy about twelve years old.

To justify the interpretation of the New York bronze as a prince of the Julio-Claudian family, it is only necessary to compare it with a portrait of Tiberius like the one in the Museum of

Fine Arts (Fig. 216). In this, as on the coins with portraits of Tiberius, the family traits are evident at a glance. The arrangement of the robe makes it probable that the statue from which the head was broken represented the Emperor in the act of sacrificing. And again, the rather dry and refined modelling is typical of the early Empire. Still another member of the Julio-Claudian family is represented in a head in the Worcester Art Museum (Fig. 217). The authorities of the Museum identify

FIG. 216. TIBERIUS
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

FIG. 217. LUCIUS CAESAR (?)
Art Museum, Worcester

it as Lucius Caesar, and this is a probable, though not a certain, identification. It is, in any case, a fine example of Julio-Claudian portraiture.

Female figures of the Roman period are, in general, much less numerous than male types, but the general characteristics of the work of the early Empire are well shown by an excellent bust and two headless statues in the Boston Museum. The bust (Fig. 218) is dated on the evidence of its shape and the simple arrangement of the hair, which is one that was in vogue during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. The face is that of a capable and rather determined-looking woman, and in spite of its

simplicity produces the effect of lifelikeness which is so persistent in the Roman portraits. Of the statues, one is a seated figure, and at first sight looks as if it might be part of an ideal statue of the late fifth century (Fig. 219). But the emphasis on details is contrary to the spirit of fifth-century sculpture, and the elaborate and deeply cut folds, with their sharp edges and angles, produce a restless effect. The type was evidently a popular one, as a replica of it is in the collection at Wilton House,

FIG. 218. ROMAN PORTRAIT BUST
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

FIG. 221. ROMAN PORTRAIT OF A BOY
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

England. Very similar in its mannerisms is the second statue (Fig. 220), which, fortunately, is a standing figure. There is much that is Greek in the lines of the folds, but again the deep cutting, the accurate representation of the right hand under the drapery, and the careful working out of the finger-ring on the right hand are sure indications of Roman date. The end of a short curl at the left side of the neck suggests a style of hair dressing that was in fashion about the middle of the first century after Christ, and gives a hint for the more definite dating.

Most attractive of all the products of the Roman portraitists are the busts of very young children. These are carved with a

FIG. 219. ROMAN PORTRAIT STATUE
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

FIG. 220. ROMAN PORTRAIT STATUE
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

FIG. 222. CAMILLUS
Metropolitan Museum, New York

skill and an understanding which surpass even the Hellenistic sculptors' successful essays in this sort of work. Some of the best, like one in the Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 221), are datable in the early empire, as the shape of the bust shows.

Finally, the influence of Greek models is very evident in a bronze statue in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 222), representing a *camillus*, one of the boys who assisted at religious ceremonies. The left hand, now empty, probably held an incense-

FIG. 223. SACRIFICE
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

box. Here the folds of the drapery are strongly reminiscent of Greek statues, and the face is a generalized type, quite without individual character.

In decorative reliefs of the Roman age, our museums, as yet, are comparatively poor. This is partly due to the fact that such reliefs are largely still in place on ancient buildings or safely housed in European collections, but partly, also, to a lack of interest in work of this kind. The little that we have, however, is sufficient to illustrate many of the characteristic features of the Roman reliefs. The classic style of the Augustan age is well shown by a small architectural block in the Museum of Fine

Arts, decorated with a scene of sacrifice (Fig. 223). In the centre is the altar, adorned with garlands and with a fire burning upon it. At the right, a priest pours a libation, a woman brings an offering of three cakes, and a camillus holds the pitcher from which the libation was taken. At the left of the altar, the assistant with his axe drags forward the reluctant victim, and a small part of a female figure holding a box or a basket can be made out. The details are based on Roman usage, but the wide spacing, the broad treatment in the robes of the figures, and the working in one plane bear witness to the influence of Greek models.

Fig. 224. PORTRAIT HEAD FROM A ROMAN RELIEF
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

A single head from a larger relief in the Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 224) is surely to be assigned to the Julio-Claudian period. The simple, dignified character of the portrait is precisely in the spirit of the processional reliefs from the Ara Pacis. Even more closely reminiscent of that famous work is a large pilaster in the Metropolitan Museum, decorated with a very splendid scroll design (Fig. 225). From a cluster of acanthus leaves at the bottom, the scrolls are carried upward in a way that suggests a growing plant, and this effect is enhanced by the floral forms in which each scroll ends, and by the smaller tendrils and flowers which issue at intervals from the main stock. Quite in the spirit of the Ara Pacis, also, several birds, a lizard, and a small Cupid are introduced, to give more life and variety. Six other fragments of similar style are known, two in the Uffizi Palace in Florence, four in the Villa Medici in Rome. The execution is not so delicate as that of the Ara

Pacis, and because of this, it is generally believed that these panels come from a somewhat later building, erected in the first half of the first century after Christ. The same style appears again in a marble table-support in the Metropolitan collection (Fig. 226). On this, between two winged monsters, stalks rising from a bed of acanthus leaves are finished off with bunches of grapes and various buds and flowers. The whole is carefully balanced on either side of a central line, yet the total effect is that of a growing plant. The use of such supports is well shown by a complete table in the Cleveland Museum (Fig. 227), where the table is effectively exhibited between four Graeco-Roman herms and a large marble basin supported by a satyr. The design here is much simpler than in the New York example, and more carelessly executed, but the date is probably not far from the middle of the first century after Christ, for the whole group came from the villa of Rectina, the wife of the lyric poet Caesius Bassus, who met his death in the great eruption of Vesuvius in 79 A.D.

Fig. 225.
ROMAN PILASTER
Metropolitan Museum
New York

How powerfully the decorative sculpture of the first century was affected by the innovations of the Augustan age is shown most clearly by a whole series of altars and urns for the ashes of the dead, on which garlands similar to those of the Ara Pacis are employed again and again. The workmanship is often careless, and all sorts of other elements are sometimes introduced among the deco-

rations. A good example of a simple sort is in the Worcester Museum, datable to the reign of Tiberius by the horned heads of Zeus Ammon to which the garlands are attached (Fig. 228). The inscription records the name of the slave whose ashes were deposited in the urn, and also the names of two fellow-slaves who had it set up. Other urns, like one in Cleveland

FIG. 226. MARBLE TABLE-SUPPORT
Metropolitan Museum, New York

(Fig. 229), are complicated by the addition of many different elements. These here include Cupids with torches, eagles, Sirens, a Cupid riding on a dolphin, portraits, and (on the sides) hares nibbling at a basket of fruit. But again it is noticeable that the heavy garland, with birds, forms a prominent part of the decoration, and is treated in the illusionist manner, with deep undercutting and striving for effects of light and shadow.

The Flavian period, when the illusionist principle was carried furthest, is little represented as yet in our museums, but two

FIG. 227. MARBLE TABLE, BASIN, AND FOUR HERMS
Museum of Art, Cleveland

FIG. 228. ROMAN CINERARY URN
Art Museum, Worcester

FIG. 229. ROMAN CINERARY URN
Museum of Art, Cleveland

large decorative panels in the Boston Museum are plausibly attributed to this time (Fig. 230). Each is carved with a fantastic griffin, whose tail is continued to form a most elaborate scroll, everywhere deeply undercut, so as to produce an effective play of light among the leaves; and this deep undercutting is extended even to the formal patterns of the border, in a way

FIG. 230. ROMAN DECORATIVE PANEL
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

that suggests the great period of illusionism as the probable date.

Of portraits of the Flavian epoch, the Metropolitan Museum possesses a number of good examples. The most interesting is that of a rather fleshy man of middle age (Fig. 231), whose kindly, genial expression presents a strong contrast to the sterner types of the republican period (cf. Figs. 206–209). There is a difference, too, in the surface treatment, which is much smoother and softer in effect than the rather hard treat-

ment of earlier periods. The Roman realism meets us again, but with new refinements, which make these Flavian portraits the masterpieces among all ancient works of this character. This head, being broken, does not show the form of the busts of the Favian period. These regularly are larger than those of Julio-Claudian date, including the shoulders and the pectoral line. This shape is well shown in a wonderfully preserved bust in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 232), which represents an elderly

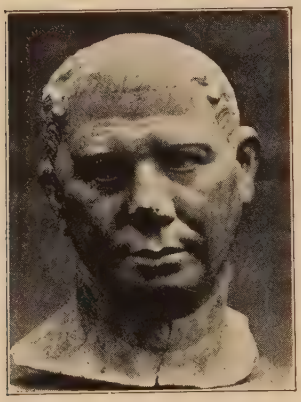


FIG. 231. ROMAN PORTRAIT
Metropolitan Museum, New York

FIG. 232. ROMAN PORTRAIT BUST
Metropolitan Museum, New York

man, and is carved in the Flavian style, combining realistic representation with skilful characterization.

Of the women of the Flavian period, with their marvellous coiffures, there are no portraits, so far as I am aware, in our collections; but a similar style of hairdressing continued in use during the reign of Trajan, and is well shown by a head in the Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 233). This represents an elderly woman of rather severe features, and has been identified as a portrait of Marciana, the sister of Trajan, on the ground of its marked similarity to the portraits of Marciana on coins struck in her honor after her death. In spite of its damaged condition,

FIG. 233. MARCIANA
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

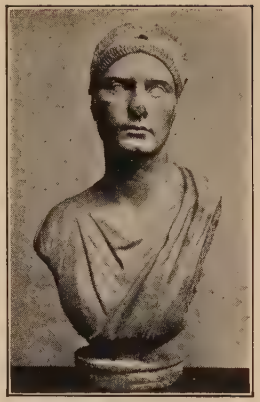


FIG. 234. ROMAN PORTRAIT BUST
Metropolitan Museum, New York

FIG. 235. PORTRAIT HEAD IN RED PORPHYRY
Metropolitan Museum, New York

it has much of the quality of Flavian portraiture, and the attempt to suggest the eyebrows by a series of short grooves bears interesting witness to the realistic tendencies of this time. Equally characteristic is a fine bust in the Metropolitan (Fig. 234). The high coiffure was here carved in a separate piece of marble and has been lost, but the shape of the bust, a little

FIG. 236. GRAVESTONE WITH PORTRAIT BUSTS
Metropolitan Museum, New York

longer than those of the Flavian age, including more of the breast, points to the time of Trajan.

The Greek revival in the reign of Hadrian is illustrated by a colossal head in the Metropolitan collection (Fig. 235), carved in hard red porphyry, an extremely difficult material. In this, the more generalizing tendency of the Greek portraits is plainly to be seen, and the treatment of the beard in a series of regular curls is reminiscent of Greek works. But it seems clear that only the official art was affected by the Hadrianic revival. The portraits of ordinary citizens continued to be rendered in the more realistic manner, as is shown by a gravestone in New York (Fig.

236). This bears witness also to the skill of even the lesser sculptors in this field of work. The representation of a part of the arm, such as these busts show, is characteristic of the time of Hadrian.

It was in Hadrian's reign, also, that the practice of outlining the iris of the eye and indicating the pupil by drill holes first became common. We see this in a fragment of a large relief in the Metropolitan Museum representing Lucius Verus, the imperial colleague of Marcus Aurelius from 161 to 169 A.D. (Fig. 237).

FIG. 237. LUCIUS VERUS
Metropolitan Museum, New York

FIG. 238. ROMAN PORTRAIT BUST
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

The deep undercutting of the hair and beard to create effects of light and shadow and the high polish of the marble as a means of obtaining contrast are characteristic of the products of the second half of the second century.

The same qualities are evident in two busts in the Museum of Fine Arts, which are excellent examples of the work of the second century. One (Fig. 238) is a portrait of a woman with her hair braided and coiled on top of her head, in a style that was in fashion about the middle of the century; the other (Fig. 239) represents a man with long hair and beard, such as was worn

especially in the period of Marcus Aurelius. His weak and selfish face is of a type that is only too common among the portraits of the later Empire.

The decline in skill which appears in the decorative reliefs of the third century is not so evident in the portraits. Many of the products of the time show marked ability in the suggestion of temperament and character. An excellent example is the bust of the Emperor Balbinus in the Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 240). The Roman historians record that Balbinus was a noble who

FIG. 239. ROMAN PORTRAIT BUST
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

FIG. 240. BALBINUS
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

had governed with success several of the more peaceful provinces, and had won fame as an orator and a poet. Elected Emperor with Pupienus by the Senate in the spring of 238 A.D., he, with his colleague, was put to death by the soldiers before the end of the year. The personality suggested by the portrait seems to agree entirely with the historical account. The features are those of a rather heavy, easy-going man, ill-fitted for the difficulties and responsibilities of the imperial purple in the troubled days of the third century.

Quite different is the aspect of Trebonianus Gallus, who is rep-

resented in a large bronze statue in the Metropolitan collection (Fig. 241). This emperor was placed on the throne by the soldiers and the Senate in 251, during the first great invasion of the Goths, and was killed by his own men three years later, after a reign which brought only disgrace to the Roman name. Nothing is known of his earlier history, but the portrait suggests the

FIG. 241. TREBONIANUS GALLUS
Metropolitan Museum, New York

FIG. 242. RELIEF FROM PALMYRA
Fogg Museum, Cambridge

soldier of fortune, a man of harsh and unattractive personality. It is interesting that, even in this late period, the body is modelled without drapery, in the manner of earlier Greek portraits.

We noted in the reliefs on the Arch of Constantine a tendency among the sculptors of the late period to return to the conventions of archaic art. The same point is illustrated by the sculptures from Palmyra, of which there are some specimens in the

Museum of Fine Arts and the Fogg Museum at Cambridge. A single example (Fig. 242) will show the crudeness of most of these products of the third century, in which the snail-shell curl once more is used to suggest the hair and the beard. It would be unfair to takes these works as typical, for Palmyra was a provincial town, whose art never, apparently, attained a high level. In Rome and the other great cities of the Empire, some ability to catch and render personal peculiarities persisted well into the fourth century. But the Palmyrene sculptures, with their strict observance of the frontal law, and careless, inaccurate workmanship, show well the tendencies of late Roman sculpture.

Thus, after something over a thousand years of development, we find the sculptors returning to some of the mannerisms of the earliest Greek experimenters in this field. But during these thousand years, much of permanent value had been accomplished. Many works which are acknowledged masterpieces had been created, and principles and methods had been evolved which were never completely lost sight of in later times. These principles and methods — the essential qualities of Greek and Roman sculpture — will form the subject of our concluding lecture.

LECTURE VIII

CONCLUSION: THE ESSENTIAL QUALITIES OF GREEK AND ROMAN SCULPTURE

We have now passed in review the great periods in the history of ancient sculpture, tracing the development from its beginnings in the sixth century B.C. to its decline in the fourth century after Christ. I have tried to make clear the differences that distinguish one period from another, and to trace very briefly the political and social changes that were largely responsible for them. I have also attempted to show that our American collections contain examples from every period, in which its characteristics can be seen. In this concluding lecture, I shall approach the subject from a different angle, and try to point out the essential qualities of Greek and Roman sculpture, and especially the qualities by virtue of which these ancient monuments have exercised so powerful an influence on later artists, and in certain fields are still regarded as marking the highest achievement of all times. I shall take my examples partly from the works that we have studied, partly from other sources.

It will be clearest, if, for the moment, we make a distinction between Greek and Roman work, and consider first the monuments of the Greek periods. One quality which we have constantly noticed in these is the technical ability of the artists, who evidently attained to great skill in casting bronze and carving marble and other materials so as to suggest the texture of the flesh and the hair, the drapery and other accessories. Among the works that we have studied, the head of Arsinoë (Fig. 160) and the Goddess from Chios (Fig. 94) may be cited as good ex-

amples of technical excellence, but there are, of course, many others. This quality is one that appeals strongly to artists, whose technical training makes them appreciate the difficulties overcome in the attainment of such skill.

But it is very evident that skilful execution alone cannot account for the fame of Greek works of sculpture. By the layman and the critic, technique is often little appreciated, and many works of earlier and later periods display great technical perfection, but do not enjoy the fame of the products of the Greeks. It seems clear, therefore, that the perfection of workmanship in Greek statues and reliefs, though it adds greatly to their charm, is not responsible for their enduring fame; and, indeed, it may be set down as an axiom that technical skill alone is not sufficient in any art for the production of a masterpiece. The technique of his trade the sculptor must undoubtedly master, but with technical skill must be associated the creative imagination which enables the artist to use his technique simply as a means for expressing his ideas. It is, then, in the realm of ideas that we must seek the reason for the superiority of Greek sculpture, and inquire more closely into the subjects chosen by the sculptors and their manner of representing them.

In any survey of a considerable number of Greek statues and reliefs, such as that which we have made, what most impresses us is, perhaps, the tendency to choose subjects that involve human figures, to neglect representations of animals or inanimate objects except in so far as they are necessary to the complete expression of the idea to be conveyed. I do not mean to say that the subjects themselves are commonly mere men and women. The favorite *subjects* throughout are the gods and heroes, and the myths that the Greek imagination had woven about them. But these gods and heroes were conceived in human form, and so the problem with which the Greek sculptors

were most concerned was always the representation of the human figure. Along with this, there appears a marked fondness for the nude, which was a natural result of the conditions of Greek life. In comparatively recent years, we used to hear much discussion of the place of the nude in art, and such expressions as the "propriety of the nude" or the "indecency of the nude" were among the commonest of phrases in reports of exhibitions and in popular essays. The merits of the question were, I think, summed up long ago by Dr. Johnson, who, when he was asked if a certain picture was not indecent, replied, "No, sir; but your question is"; and it must be admitted that the indecency which some profess to see in ancient, or in modern, works is often in the mind of the beholder, not in the statue itself. For the Greeks, at all events, no such problem existed. Accustomed as they were to the exercises of the palaestra and the gymnasium, where no clothing was worn, and brought up to regard the training of the body as no less important than the training of the mind, they naturally came to regard the human figure as the fittest subject for the sculptor's chisel, a belief that has been approved by most of the great artists of later times.

To the rule that the human figure was often represented nude or only partially draped there is, as we have seen, one important limitation. Undraped female figures, like the flute player of the Ludovisi throne (Fig. 47), were very rarely represented in sculpture before the end of the fifth century, an exception which is perhaps to be explained by the seclusion of women in most of the Greek states. During the fourth century, however, probably as a result of the popularity of the Aphrodite of Cnidus (Fig. 88) and similar creations of Praxiteles and his followers, undraped female figures came more and more to be represented, and from this time on, they were as common as undraped male figures.

The tendency to choose human figures as subjects, then, is one very notable feature in the work of the Greek sculptors. A second, and a very marked tendency, is what may be called the passion for beauty. In recent years, we have had a number of schools which denied any necessary connection between art and beauty, any obligation on the part of the artist to make his creations beautiful. It is enough, these artists and critics have tried to make us believe, if the sculptor or the painter follows nature, and represents the thing as he sees it. Whatever modern the-

FIG. 243. RONDANINI MEDUSA
Munich. (Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, pl. 239)

ories may be, to the Greek mind art and beauty were inseparably connected. It is no exaggeration to say that there is no work of the great age in which the striving for beauty is not evident, and it is marked in many of the products of the later periods. To a Greek of the fifth century, naturalism, as it is defined by some of its modern advocates, the theory, that is, that all subjects are proper to art, provided they occur in nature, would have made no appeal. The passion for beauty can best be illustrated, perhaps, by an exception. One of the commonest types in the repertoire of the early sculptors is the Gorgon Me-

dusa, which we saw in the metope from Selinus, where Perseus cuts off the Gorgon's head in the presence of Athena (Fig. 7). The face of Medusa in the early period always has the same appearance, with wide-open mouth, protruding tongue, and tusk-like teeth, and this form persisted into the great age. But before the end of the great period, this conception gave place to another (Fig. 243), which, while it still suggests, in the cruel mouth, the drooping eyelids, and the snaky locks, the character of the Gorgon, has yet a certain sort of beauty; and it is fair to argue that the transformation is due to the strong desire to make beautiful even what is naturally ugly and repulsive.

A third, and a very notable quality in the sculpture of the great age, closely connected with the passion for beauty, is a strong tendency towards idealization. This manifests itself especially in two ways: first, in the choice of subjects; and secondly, in the methods of representing the subjects chosen. One marked difference between the sculpture of the Greek periods and that of later times is the absence from the Greek of historical subjects. As a rule, when a Greek sculptor wished to commemorate a historical event, he chose to refer to it indirectly, by representing one of the famous contests of mythology. It was for this reason, largely, that the temples and other buildings were so often decorated with representations of the legendary battles of the gods and the giants, the Centaurs and the Lapiths, the Greeks and the Amazons. These legendary contests symbolized the triumph of law and order, of the powers of light over the powers of darkness, and in them the Greeks saw the prototypes of their own triumphs over the Persians and other barbarians. It is significant that this was their way of commemorating the most glorious chapters in their history, by a sort of symbolism, not by a representation of the actual historical event.

The tendency to idealize is also shown, as I have said, by the

method of representing the subjects chosen. In its earliest attempts at representation, all art tends to the imitation of nature, and the art of the Greeks is no exception to the rule. Throughout the archaic period, the artists were clearly trying to copy nature, and the interest that we feel in the study of archaic works is largely the interest of seeing the sculptor gradually overcome his difficulties and approach more and more closely to correct representation. The archaic period may be compared to the years of training in the case of an individual, the years in which he gradually learns the alphabet of his trade, the best tools to use, the means to be employed to produce a given effect. When he has attained technical skill, however, the artist, if he aims at more than mediocrity, must go further and try to do more than simply to imitate nature. Many artists since the time of the Greeks have given expression to this idea. Sir Joshua Reynolds lays down the principle, "Nature herself is not perfect; we must create forms lovelier than her own works." And Whistler, in a very striking passage in his lecture called *Ten O'Clock*, has this to say:

> Nature contains the elements, in colour and form, of all pictures, as the keyboard contains the notes of all music.
>
> But the artist is born to pick and choose, and group with science these elements, that the result may be beautiful, — as the musician gathers his notes and forms his chords until he bring forth from chaos glorious harmony.
>
> To say to the painter that Nature is to be taken as she is, is to say to the player that he may sit on the piano.

The exaggeration is only one of many in this interesting essay, but the sentiment is one, I am sure, to which a Greek sculptor of the fifth century would subscribe.

In the Gymnasium at Cambridge, we have a plaster cast of Sandow, a man who certainly did his best to attain an all-

round physical development, but no one could possibly mistake this cast for a statue, or even for a reproduction of a statue. It lacks the quality which comes from the intervention of the artist, from the reaction of his brain upon the forms presented by nature.

The true artist, then, must improve upon nature, must "create forms lovelier than her own works." This is precisely what the Greek sculptors of the great age did, and it is their recognized success in this endeavor that gives them their unique position. The point is well brought out by a story of the German sculptor Dannecker, who, when he first saw the Parthenon sculptures, is said to have exclaimed, "They look as if they were modelled on human bodies, but where is one to find such bodies?"

Now with gods and heroes, such idealization is natural enough. But one striking feature of the art of the great age is that purely human figures are also idealized, and raised above the level of the commonplace. The Diadumenus of Polyclitus (Fig. 53), though it represents simply an athlete, has all the qualities of a figure of a god. On the frieze of the Parthenon, the Athenian cavalrymen create the impression of a company of demi-gods and heroes (Fig. 59), and the maidens who lead the procession might well be goddesses (Fig. 84). The horseman of the small fourth-century relief in New York (Fig. 116) carries the same suggestion of divinity. Perhaps the most striking examples of all are found in the fifth-century portraits, like that of Pericles (Fig. 71), which is rather an ideal statesman than an exact representation of the great Athenian leader.

The method by which this effect of superhuman beauty is obtained is what is commonly called elimination. If we take any figure of the great period, like the so-called Theseus from the eastern pediment of the Parthenon (Fig. 55), and compare it

with the living model, it is noticeable that the human figure presents much more detail than the creation of the sculptor. The surface of the human body is broken up into a great number of small surfaces by the projection of the bones and the muscles, and these, with the sinews and the veins, produce an effect of great variety. In the statue, most of the minor details are neglected, and the figure presents a series of rather large surfaces, which flow into one another and allow the eye to pass easily

FIG. 244. DAY, BY MICHELANGELO
Tomb of Giuliano dei Medici, Florence. (Photograph by Alinari)

from one surface to the next. This characteristic of Greek work is even more noticeable if we compare a figure of this sort with the work of a sculptor of opposite tendencies, such as Michelangelo (Fig. 244). Both statues are in a sense idealized, but in exactly opposite directions; the Greek sculptor has eliminated detail, the Italian has exaggerated it. Objections have sometimes been made to the use of the term "elimination" to describe this well-recognized quality in the Greek statues. It has been urged that "elimination" implies conscious suppression of de-

tail by the sculptor, whereas the effect may have been brought about unconsciously. In recent years, a theory of "defective memory pictures" has had considerable vogue, a theory that the Greek sculptors, working without posed models, actually forgot minor details. But there is some evidence that the Greek sculptors sometimes used posed models, — we saw reason to

FIG. 245. PORTRAIT STATUE (FORMERLY CALLED MENANDER)
Vatican

FIG. 246. PORTRAIT STATUE OF THE POET POSIDIPPUS
Vatican

suspect such a practice in the unusual folds of the drapery of the Charioteer from Delphi (Fig. 34), — and the neglect of detail is so persistent that it seems more probable that the omissions were intentional and the term elimination is justified.

Moreover, the same principle of elimination can be seen in the treatment of drapery, which the Greek sculptors employed simply to enhance the beauty of their effects, or to obtain variety in a series of figures, or to express character and emotion.

FIG. 247. NIOBID
Vatican

FIG. 248. IRIS, FROM THE EASTERN PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON
British Museum. (Photograph by Mansell)

FIG. 249. JUDITH AND HOLOFERNES BY DONATELLO
Florence. (Photograph by Alinari)

The horsemen of the Parthenon frieze furnish excellent examples. Some are dressed in the ordinary chiton and military cape of daily life, others are in full armor, others still wear nothing but the military cape. The whole aim of the designer was clearly to achieve a pleasant variety, not to present a photographic picture of the procession as it actually moved through the streets of Athens. The use of drapery to express character is well shown by two statues now in the Vatican, Roman copies of two portraits of Hellenistic date (Figs. 245, 246). One evidently represents a nervous, energetic man, the other, a more philosophical, contemplative type. The contrast is expressed not only in the pose of the figures and in the faces, but also in the drapery. In one case, the himation is stretched tight between the knees of the figure, and heaped up in a great mass of folds; in the other, it hangs loosely and quietly. Even without head or hands a Greek statue is often full of expression. Excitement is evident in every line of a running figure in the Vatican (Fig. 247), which is shown by more complete copies to represent one of the daughters of Niobe, fleeing from the fatal arrows of Artemis and Apollo. In the eastern pediment of the Parthenon, the excitement of the messenger who hastens forth to proclaim the news of Athena's birth is expressed quite as much by the deep folds and fluttering edges of her robe as by the pose of the figure (Fig. 248). Since the days of the Greeks, few sculptors have used drapery so skilfully to express character and emotion. In Donatello's group of Judith and Holofernes (Fig. 249), the dress of Judith is nothing more than the dress of daily life; it expresses none of the joy of victory. In the handling of the drapery, also, the same tendency to idealize and the same observance of the principle of elimination appear. The sculptors of the great age studiously avoided all minor folds and intricate masses, and what we see is very far from what must have ap-

peared in life. Even when the robes represented are very thin, suggesting material that would naturally fall into many small folds, the same principle is applied, and the avoidance of details and crossing lines greatly enhances the effect (Fig. 60).

But the most striking evidence of the tendency to idealize is seen in the faces of these Greek statues, which present a regularity of feature far removed from the facts of the actual human model. Take, for instance, the head of a goddess in the Metropolitan Museum, which was carved soon after 400 B.C. (Fig. 114). A line dropped from the central parting of the hair would divide the face into two almost symmetrical halves. But the human face is practically never exactly symmetrical. The central line almost always is deflected slightly to the right or to the left; the eyebrows rarely have exactly the same curve; one side of the chin is almost always longer than the other; and measurements show that one eye is commonly larger than the other and placed a little higher. In the Greek head, all these irregularities are disregarded. Most remarkable of all is the neglect of detail in the carving of the nose, which is very straight, with no depression at the base, the characteristic Greek profile. It is probable that this ideal type is based on the general characteristics of the Greeks of the fifth and the fourth centuries, and it is interesting that among the Greeks of today, long straight noses and large eyes are not uncommon, but we can hardly believe that such great regularity of feature as the statues display was at all usual. Here again, the effect is due to the idealizing sculptor, who did not hesitate to depart from nature in his endeavor to attain his ideal of perfect beauty. It is this regularity of feature, combined with the calm, unperturbed expression which is almost always found in the statues and reliefs of the fifth century and even in many of later date, that gives to the Greek gods and even to purely human figures their air of calm remoteness. In

male heads there is always a tendency to somewhat greater variety, especially in the foreheads, which usually show some projection above the base of the nose (Fig. 63); but here, too, idealization is very evident. It is true, also, as we have noticed, that in the fourth century, although the tendency to idealize is still strong, the heads often show more detail and less exact regularity of feature, combined with much greater variety of expression. The profile of the Hermes of Praxiteles (Fig. 87) departs decidedly from the almost straight line of the fifth-century statues, and the forehead and the cheeks display a variety of surface that is foreign to earlier works. The Bartlett Aphrodite (Fig. 93) has distinctly unsymmetrical eyebrows. In fact, from the early fourth century on, a gradual abandonment of the strict symmetry and elimination of the fifth century can be traced in many works.

The three tendencies that I have emphasized — fondness for the human figure, passion for beauty, and idealism — brought it about that in the statues of the great age comparatively few types were developed. For female figures there are really only two types, the maiden and the matron; and for male figures there are three, the boy, the young man, and the man in the prime of life. Almost all the statues conform to one or another of these types, and these, evidently, were the forms in which the sculptors felt that the highest beauty could be expressed.

For the first type no better example can be chosen than the figures that support the Caryatid Porch of the Erechtheum at Athens (Fig. 250). These are called Maidens in the inscriptions that record the building of the Erechtheum, and they were evidently intended to represent Athenian girls in the service of Athena. In them we see embodied the ideal of physical and intellectual fitness. The breadth of the shoulders and of the waist is noteworthy, the firm set of the head, the perfect poise. The

clearest idea of the type can be gained from the best-preserved of these figures, which was carried off by Lord Elgin's agent and is now in London (Fig. 251). In the British Museum it stands alone, and so can be better judged as a work of sculpture than the figures that are still in place in their architectural setting. The type for the matron may well be shown by the Barberini Hera in the Vatican (Fig. 252), an excellent Roman copy of a fifth-century original. She is, one may say, the maiden of the Erechtheum grown to maturity, with the same broad shoulders and waist, the same suggestion of perfect health and strength. In both figures the idealization is obvious.

In the male types, the same qualities are prominent. The Praying Boy in Berlin (Fig. 253), a remarkably well-preserved bronze of the fourth century, is slender and undeveloped, but perfectly formed, suggesting great possibilities of development. For the young man, ideals differed at different times and in different schools, as the Doryphorus of Polyclitus (Fig. 52) and the Apoxyomenus of Lysippus (Fig. 90) show, but in all the ideal is that of perfect physical condition. Finally, the imposing, though somewhat theatrical Poseidon from Melos (Fig. 254), an original of the end of the fourth century, gives us the ideal for the man in the prime of life, with muscles grown hard and firm through long use, untouched as yet by the weakening effects of age. Here, too, the influence of the athletic ideal is seen.

In reliefs, naturally, greater variety is found, but even in reliefs, the number of types is relatively small, and we find the same subjects represented again and again. The long series of Attic grave-reliefs, so well represented in American collections, illustrate the point extremely well. Most of them conform to one of two types, the idealized occupant of the tomb (Fig. 83), and the family group (Figs. 121–123). Indeed, it is the very essence of the art of the great age that later generations carry

FIG. 250. CARYATID PORCH OF THE ERECHTHEUM
Athens

FIG. 251. CARYATID
British Museum
(Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, pl. 176)

FIG. 252. BARBERINI HERA
Vatican

on the tradition of earlier times, trying always to improve on what had been done before.

In the later Greek period, after the death of Alexander, though the fondness for the human figure persists, there was, as we have seen, a weakening of the passion for beauty and the idealizing tendency. This led to the development of types

FIG. 253. PRAYING BOY
Berlin. (Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, pl. 283)

FIG. 254. POSEIDON FROM MELOS
National Museum, Athens

that had not been treated by the sculptors of the great age, like the figures drawn from daily life, and, in some schools, at least, to more realistic methods of representation. Yet it is noticeable that even in the Hellenistic age, much of the older feeling persisted. The figures drawn from daily life rarely exhibit individual character. They are by no means portraits, but rather generalized types, as the Old Market Woman in New

York shows (Fig. 156). And even in the portraits of the time, like the Boston Menander (Fig. 163), there is something of the older manner.

But the tendency towards greater realism and more exact expression of individual traits was strong, and it became stronger after the Roman conquest had brought about an increasing demand for sculpture of various kinds. In the creation of portrait

FIG. 255. IONIC CAPITAL OF THE ERECHTHEUM
Athens. (Photograph by Boissonas)

statues and busts, the sculptors of the Roman period found a promising field, which they cultivated with great success. The Roman portraits are certainly to be ranked among the finest creations of all ages in this particular field, where realistic detail and emphasis on individual traits are strictly in keeping with the purpose to be served. Moreover, the makers of these portraits display remarkable skill in representing individual traits in such a way as to suggest personality. Their products are not photographic, recording the appearance of the sitter at a single moment, but are evidently the result of careful study, so that

FIG. 256. ORNAMENTAL PATTERNS ON THE NORTH DOOR OF THE ERECHTHEUM
Athens

they suggest, as all good portraits should, the character of the subject as well as his physical appearance (Fig. 231). At different times, as we noticed, the essentially realistic tendency of the Roman portraitists was affected by the idealizing tendencies of earlier days. This is true especially of the reigns of Augustus and Hadrian. But on the whole, the sculptors of the Roman age preserved their realistic ideal with great consistency, and produced works which mark a distinct advance over the portraits of the Greek periods.

In the development of ornament, also, the Roman age is of great importance. This is a field in which the Greek sculptors of the great age made few experiments. Consistently with their ideals of simplicity and conventionalization, they employed comparatively few types of ornament, and these they worked out in forms that ever afterwards served as standards — the meander, the plait-band, the bead and reel, the egg and dart, the leaf and dart, the rosette, the palmette, the lotus, the acanthus. The sculptured ornament of the Erechtheum shows many of these types, carved with the greatest care (Figs. 255, 256). In this field, as in so many others, the Hellenistic age was a time of many innovations. Hellenistic altars are sometimes decorated with rather simple garlands, and in decorative design in general, somewhat more naturalistic forms are not infrequently found. By the artists of the Roman period, this sort of design was much elaborated. The scrolls on the exterior of the Ara Pacis (Fig. 194) are based, indeed, on the conventionalized acanthus, but by the introduction of flowers and buds, of birds and insects, the sculptor succeeded in producing an effect of much greater variety than is found in the Hellenistic monuments, and in suggesting a vine actually growing over the wall. The departure from the forms in use during the great age of Greece is even more marked in the interior garlands of the Ara Pacis (Fig. 194),

where we find a marvellous range of fruits and flowers and leaves, most skilfully combined. Apples, pears, plums, cherries, grapes, figs, pineapples, ears of wheat, olives, ivy-berries, poppy-heads, and sprays of laurel make up a design of great complexity and real beauty, excellently adapted to produce the rich

Fig. 257. MEDALLION BY ANDREA DELLA ROBBIA
Metropolitan Museum, New York

and luxuriant effect at which the artist aimed. Here again, therefore, the sculptors of the Roman period undoubtedly made an advance over their predecessors, and introduced types which profoundly influenced the later development of ornamental sculpture. Taken up and imitated by the sculptors of the Renaissance, as we see most clearly, perhaps, in the work of the

Della Robbias (Fig. 257), they have since remained in constant use.

Another of the important innovations of the Roman period was, as we have seen, the so-called "illusionist" principle in the carving of reliefs. Applied rather timidly in the processional reliefs of the Ara Pacis (Fig. 193), this was carried to great lengths in the Flavian period (Figs. 196, 197) and affected much of the

FIG. 258. WATER-CARRIERS FROM THE NORTH FRIEZE OF THE PARTHENON
Acropolis Museum, Athens

later relief sculpture. The principle is one which the Greek sculptors of the great age hardly employed at all, preferring, in general, to work in a single plane. In the frieze of the Parthenon, figures placed one behind another are suggested, but this is accomplished by a series of sloping planes, and practically every figure at some point is brought out to the front plane of the relief. There are occasional exceptions, as in the water carrier on the north frieze who stoops to lift his water-jar (Fig. 258),

but such figures are rare. In the grave-monuments, and especially in those of the "family-group" type, the secondary figures are sometimes worked out in lower relief than the principal ones (Fig. 121), but these instances too are sporadic. Even in the great altar of Pergamum, with its very high relief (Fig. 134), most figures at some point come out to the front plane, and in general, it is clear that the Greek artists of earlier days definitely preferred a relief in one plane, with its greater simplicity and clear-cut outlines. The illusionist principle, in its application to reliefs, has sometimes been criticized on the ground that the method is more appropriate to painting than to sculpture, but the validity of this objection is questionable. The method, at all events, has been employed by many great sculptors since the early days of the Renaissance, and in works which have been greatly admired and highly praised. The Shaw Memorial in Boston (Fig. 259), to take a very modern example, is usually considered one of the most successful works of St. Gaudens. Yet it is designed entirely in the illusionist manner. The same is true of Ghiberti's "Porta del Paradiso" in Florence, one of the most admired of Renaissance works (Fig. 260). Between these modern reliefs and the illusionistic sculpture of the Roman period there is one marked difference, which may account, in part, for the criticism that has been made of the Roman products. In the modern works, the effect of distance is made clearer by the application of the principles of perspective, which were not discovered until the time of the Renaissance. The sculptors of the Roman age, because of their ignorance of these principles, were often involved in difficulties in their attempts to suggest objects in space, and these failures are likely to prejudice the modern critric. In the relief on the Arch of Titus (Fig. 196), there can be no doubt that the designer intended to represent the procession as passing through the arch

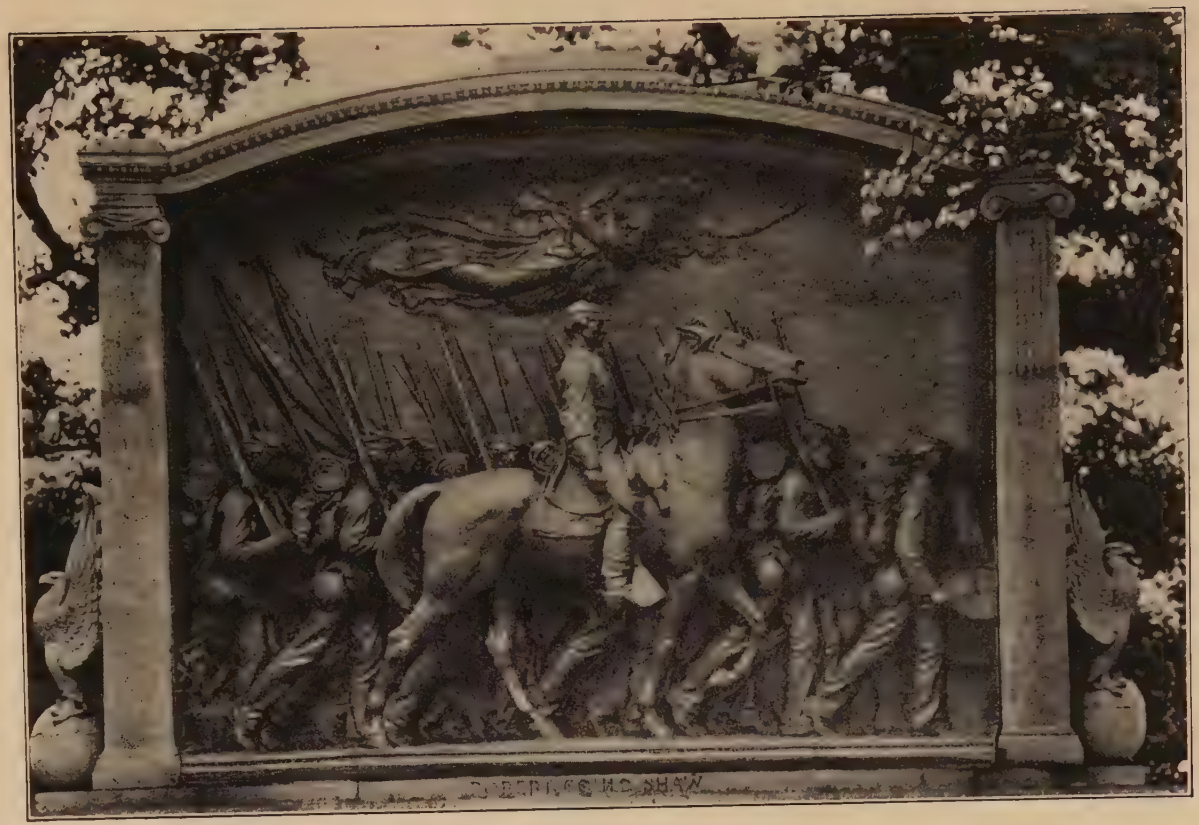


FIG. 259. SHAW MEMORIAL

Boston

at the right, but because of his ignorance of perspective, he carved the arch so that the troops appear to pass in front of it. We should be careful not to argue that distance can be suggested *only* by an application of perspective laws; the Japanese prints which are now so popular prove that other methods are possible. But we occidentals, at all events, are now so accus-

FIG. 260. SOLOMON AND THE QUEEN OF SHEBA
Baptistery, Florence. (Photograph by Alinari)

tomed to sculpture and painting which follow perspective laws that any departure from them is sure to seem unusual. However this may be, the fact, I think, remains, that in the "illusionistic" reliefs the artists of the Roman age give evidence of seeing and attempting to realize possibilities in sculpture which the Greeks of the great age had either not seen, or, what is more probable, had consciously rejected.

In regard to the third great innovation of the Roman age, the continuous method of narration, the estimates of modern crit-

ics are greatly at variance. To Wickhoff, this method, to quote his own words, "was the bright, waving flower that grew on the strong stem of realism"; to Professor Percy Gardner, it is "a revival of a primitive manner, which the empire of Greek art had almost civilized off the face of the earth." Between these two extremes, there is room for many shades of opinion. It is true, of course, that the underlying principle is an old one, which is found in Egyptian and Assyrian reliefs, on Greek painted vases, and elsewhere. But it is also true that as a definite method of representing historical events, it is worked out

Fig. 261. RELIEF FROM AN EARLY CHRISTIAN SARCOPHAGUS: THE STORY OF JONAH

Lateran, Rome

more logically and completely in the column of Trajan (Fig. 201) than in any earlier monument, so that the revival may properly be rated as an innovation of the Roman age. And its employment at this time certainly influenced later developments. The pagan sarcophagi, as we saw (Fig. 187), are frequently decorated with designs in which the continuous method is employed; and in the reliefs on Christian sarcophagi, which carry on the artistic tradition, it was often adopted for the representation of stories from the Bible (Fig. 261). In mediaeval illuminated books, the continuous method again appears, and it was taken up by the painters and the sculptors of the Renaissance,

as the Ghiberti door once more will show (Fig. 262). In this panel is told the story of Esau. In the centre we see him as he has dropped his bow and hastens forward for the mess of pottage, the price of his birthright. At the left, the aged Isaac begs Esau to fetch him venison. At the extreme right, Esau, with his bow, goes forth to hunt, while in the archway, Jacob brings the kid, as Rachel had bidden him to do, and receives the blessing

Fig. 262. THE STORY OF ESAU
Baptistery, Florence. (Photograph by Alinari)

of Isaac. Whether we approve or disapprove of the method, therefore, there can be no doubt that it is one that has been much employed since the Roman period, and by artists whose judgment is entitled to respect.

In all these ways, then, the innovations of the Roman period affected the artists of later times, and are by no means to be neglected in any survey of ancient sculpture. But it is, after all, the works of the Greek period, with their insistence on figure

compositions and their striving for ideal beauty, on which the fame of ancient sculpture as a whole is based. When we recall the monuments that we have studied, those that come most readily to mind are not the Roman portraits or the decorative reliefs, but the single figures and groups of the Greek masters, like the Hermes of Praxiteles or the goddesses of the Parthenon. These are the great works of ancient sculpture. In them the sculptors of Greece succeeded in creating types which later generations have generally recognized as best expressing the highest ideals of human beauty. And this is the real basis of the great reputation of the Greek sculptors, that in the field which they especially chose to cultivate, figure-sculpture, they produced works which no later men have surpassed, and established standards of which the validity has never since been seriously questioned.

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